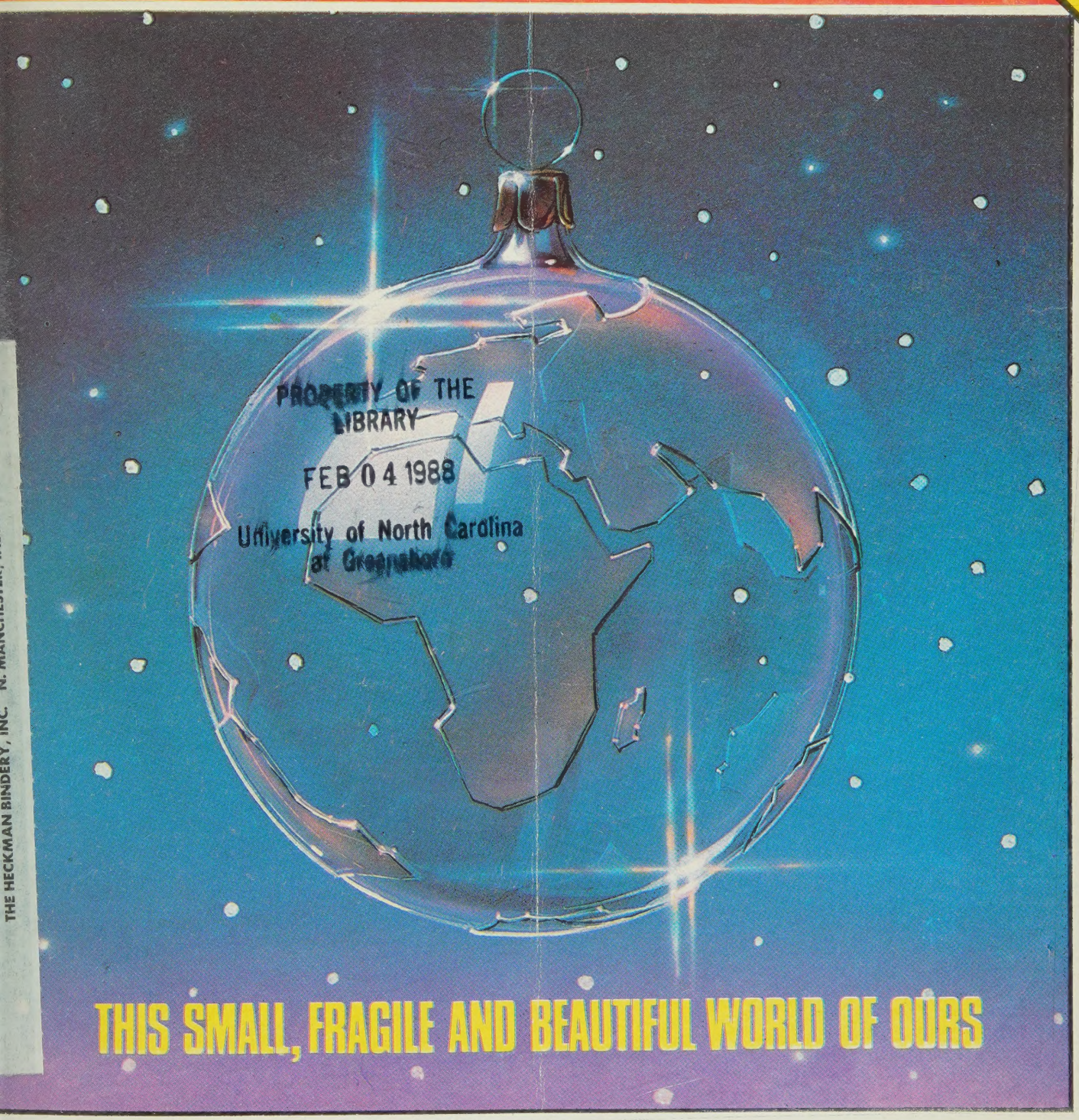
1

JANUARY 1988

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

MIKHAIL SHATROV'S NEW PLAY



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PRICES IN THE U.S.S.R.: A NEW TIMES ROUND TABLE

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NEW TIMES

No. 1, January 1988

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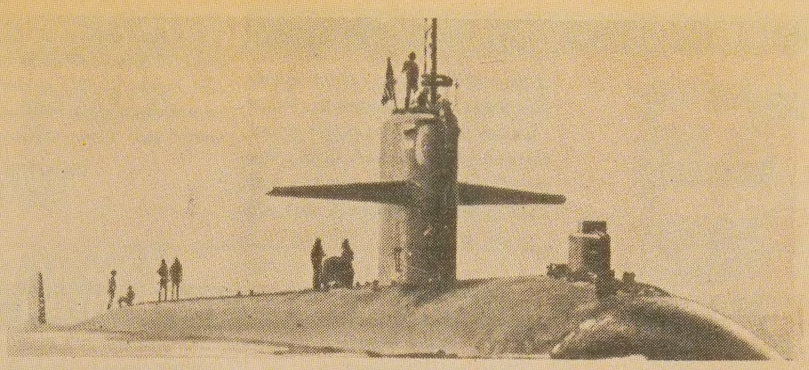

Every billion dollars spent on building such nuclear submarines creates 28,000 jobs. Invested in education, however, this sum would create 71,000 jobs.

See p. 16 for a continued discussion on the conversion of arms manufacturing into civil production.

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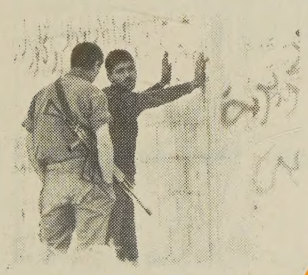

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GLASNOST

From our mailbag

THIS WEEK'S HIGHLIGHT

After the treaty

May I congratulate you, from the bottom of my heart, in the signing of the INF treaty. This is an important step on the long and hard road to disarmament and to the deliverance from nuclear weapons.

I regard this as a triumph for the policy of glasnost and perestroika, for all the Soviet people, and for their remarkable leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

JOSÉ M. SUAREZ RODRIGUEZ
Ferrol, Spain

So the U.S.S.R.-U.S. treaty has been signed. Nevertheless, there is still cause for concern over the fate of the world. What if the NATO countries make up for what they have given up and upset the parity in their favour? I am afraid that we should find ourselves cheated.

ANATOLY BAKLANOV
Belgorod Region,
U.S.S.R.

The struggle for disarmament, for an end to nuclear tests, has been on for years. Despite certain successes - such as the INF treaty - little if any progress has been made. What else can be done in order to get things moving? First of all, the production of both nuclear and conventional weapons must be outlawed, and arms trade banned. This is a tall order. If we do not move in this direction and remain in a state of hostility, the world will have nothing to gain.

GÜNTER KRANZ
Bonn, F.R.G.

OUR READERS' REFLECTIONS

...on military presence abroad

The Soviet Union is often accused of interfering in the affairs of Afghanistan. I think these accusations are unconvincing, especially when made by Americans. I'd like to ask them whether they know how many American troops are currently located on other nations' territories. Why hasn't the U.S. so far withdrawn its troops from other nations' territories? The peoples of Greece, Spain, Cuba and the Philippines demand that the U.S. should close its military bases down and pull their troops out from their territories. But the United States is not responding.

GEORGI MRAMOROVSKY
Voronezh, U.S.S.R.

...on human rights

There is a great deal of discussion in Spain about human rights and their alleged violation in the Soviet Union. I hear this talk in a country where three million people are out of work, most of them with no unemployment relief at all. About as many people have no place to live, although our monarchic Constitution says every Spaniard has the right to a home worthy of man. So how can we criticize others, while failing to observe elementary human rights ourselves?

FERNANDO ARIAS
Madrid, Spain

...on calling off capital punishment

I hear that you in the Soviet Union are thinking of repealing capital punishment in connection with perestroika. This move would be in the spirit of the changes now under way there. As far as I know, the death penalty for crimes has been repealed in many countries, socialist ones included (the G.D.R. for instance).

NEIL JONSON
Copenhagen, Denmark

...on Soviet passports

Soviet citizens' passports specify nationality. It seems to me that this practice discriminates against certain nationalities of the U.S.S.R., and it would be democratic of you to abandon it.

M.Z. FAURE-BRAC
Six-Fours-la-Plase,
France

...on the homeless

Our media, practically every day, report on the hard life of the homeless in the West. Aren't there homeless people in this country, too? There certainly are, although not as many. Young and old, they sleep at railway stations, gateways, and do odd jobs for a living. We call them tramps. We must have made a mistake somewhere to have such asocial elements in existence. It is necessary not only to find out why these people have landed in the gutter, but also to help them out.

SERGEI BOLYAN
Donetsk, U.S.S.R.

PERSONAL VIEW

And still, why in 1939?

I have been inspired to write this letter because of Valentin Falin's story "Why in 1939?" (issues Nos. 38, 39, 40, 41, 1987), since the author has unfortunately provided a somewhat one-sided answer to this question.

By 1939, the nazi leadership of Germany and the Wehrmacht general staff regarded our country as "ripe" for the fall like a "giant on legs of clay" under the blows of the Wehrmacht. As the "executive committee" of German imperialism, the nazis immediately regarded the U.S.S.R. as enemy No. 1 who at all costs had to be knocked out of Germany's path to world domination. It wasn't before they seized the Soviet Union's fabulous wealth, Berlin reasoned, that the nazis could suppress their imperialist, the U.S. included, rivals.

And so, why was it precisely in 1939 that Hitler openly attacked the East! No official source of information that I found mentioned the fact that the 1937 repressions had been triggered by provocations on the part of the nazi counterintelligence service, which had "leaked" to our ally, Czechoslovakia, a list of "German agents" among our high-ranking army officers. Historians, incidentally, have long discussed this subject "backstage." If that was the case, then the nazis started a secret war against the Red Army as early as in 1937. In other words they regarded the weakening of the Red Army as their PRIME OBJECTIVE. This is evidenced by an archival document entitled, "What we planned and the results of the initial four weeks of the war" - an analysis prepared by the intelligence service of the South group of armies of the events from June 22 to July 19, 1941, on the Eastern front.

Paragraph 1 of the document states that the Red Army had weakened as a result of the "purges" in 1937-38 when, at the Abwehr's estimate, 60-70 per cent of the top-ranking officers had been "removed." The analysis shows that the replacements bore no comparison with the "purged" commanders either in the standard of their military education, or in experience.

My second question pertains to glasnost in history. The question of our mutual losses with Germany in the past war has resurfaced this year. Why did we sustain heavier losses than the Germans - were our soldiers inferior? The war took a heavy toll - 20 million lives, a figure first disclosed by Nikita Khrushchev and now being reaffirmed.

I happened to be present at the opening of a new building of the Defence Museum in Volgograd. While inspecting the exposition I was rather surprised to learn of our mutual casualties in the Battle of Stalingrad. According to the museum's statistics, we lost 800,000 lives there, and the Germans - 1.5 million.

I doubted the authenticity of these statistics - they did not tally with what I knew about the way we had fought there. During the war I once interrogated a high-ranking POW - Lieutenant General Alexander Edler von Daniels, the commander of the 376th German field division - and managed to make him talk. Despite a strict ban on "criticizing enemy tactics in public," of which officers were periodically reminded, he admitted that he didn't think much of Soviet "top officers" due to an offensive they had undertaken in September 1942 to cut the enemy unit, which had crossed the Don, off from the main forces.

It turned out that the Wehrmacht command had expected Stalin "to repeat a civil war tactic" - and it proved right. For all the crippling losses the Soviet troops suffered, their attacks failed.

The grief over all the lives taken by the war has always been with me.

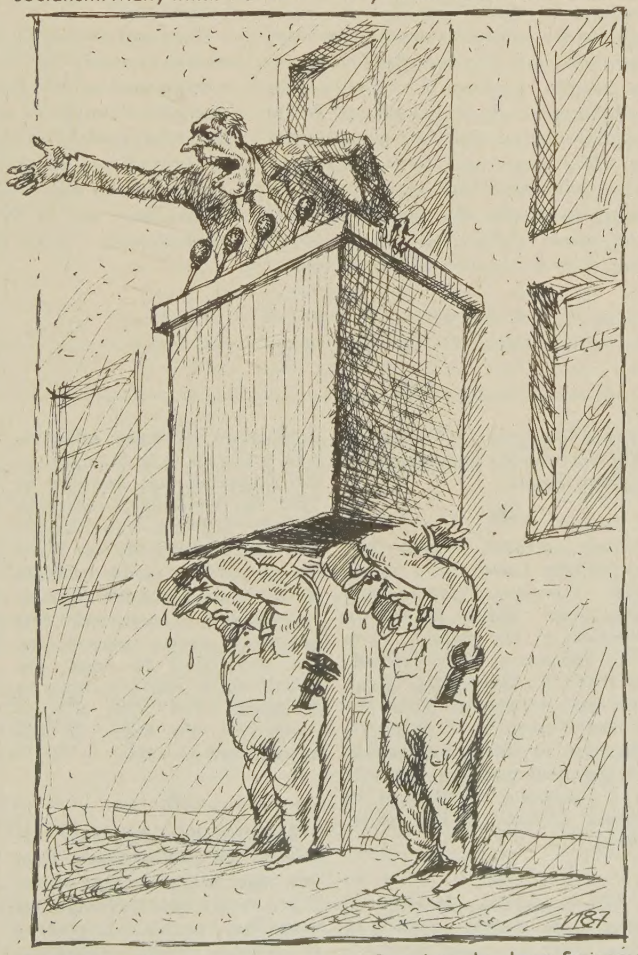
NIKOLAI DYATLENKO
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)
Kiev, U.S.S.R.

FOR MORE DEMOCRACY

The origin of the bureaucrat

The problem of bureaucratization concerns everyone who, in some way or another, is involved in the study of our society and, in general, of all citizens of our country. In order to comprehend the problems of bureaucratism a clear understanding of its social and economic roots in a socialist society is needed. The bureaucratization of our society revealed itself in very unexpected and at times frightening ways. In precise accordance with this, a legitimate question is raised: what kind of society did we in fact build? There is talk of administrative socialism, of bureaucratic socialism, and this is contrasted with self-financing socialism. Many think that this is not yet socialism, but only its initial stage or even transition period. Naturally, without a clear understanding of this, it is impossible to understand what direction we should move in, what should be avoided, and what to aim for.

I believe the bureaucratization of our society's public life can be understood only if there is an understanding of the major economic changes that occurred at the beginning of the 20th century. The growth and complication of public manufacturing demanded the increase and complication of the management apparatus. The issue at stake is not only the complexity of this apparatus, but also the increasing mass of people linked with economic management. And the increase does not bring into account the common workers, but the growth of management's exclusive professional apparatus. Why this occurred in the conditions of capitalism is clear. But why in the conditions of socialism are the workers of the professional management apparatus isolated from the general mass of common workers? The point is that the common workers cannot be instantly included in the system of public manufacturing management, even after the socialist revolution, since public division of labour, which divides the function of labour and the function of management, and the management of one's property, cannot be overcome by a single act of volition. This demands the development of very serious economic, political and socio-cultural prerequisites. The process is known to be a protracted one. And as it occurs the possibility arises of the monopolization of management functions by a sufficiently limited circle of government employees. Herein lie the roots of bureaucratism in a socialist economy. Only the democratization of management and the development of self-management principles at all levels - beginning with the work teams, working collectives and reaching up to cover our entire public manufacturing system - can lead to the creation of an active basis for the removal of bureaucratic tendencies.



A bureaucrat. Drawing by Igor Smirnov

ANDREI KOLGANOV
Cand. Sc. (Econ.)
Moscow

From our mailbag

GLASNOST

MAN AND POLITICS

It seems that the world has been given a new lease on life. Events have been occurring that only months ago seemed unbelievable.

Main thoroughfares of life are being cleared from impenetrable barriers and sacred impasses. The military share with "potential adversaries" secrets formerly inaccessible even to the most authorized of citizens. Ideologists are learning to heed unusual words on themes taboo and to search for a way to scrap the stereotypes that divide nations. Diplomats, swamped in numbers, are finding clear and justifiable formulas for reducing risk.

In 1988, for the first time in the history of earthly civilization, there might be a drop in arms (if only a certain percentage), lethal ones at that. But following this steep is the giant step - an agreement for a 50 per cent reduction of the two most powerful arms potentials.

Skeptics will say: this is only a draft, this may not work. Even if it does - how realistically and how soon will life improve for one and all? After all, only certain weapons, which for the last four decades have not once been used, fall under this ban. But thousands perish in the jungles of Central America, the mountains of Afghanistan, on the streets of Beirut from ordinary bullets and bombs. And are weapons the only killers? What about need, famine, disease - what can be done with them? And in general, how can one remain optimistic after the carefully planned and realized massacres of the 20th century which have shaken the social and biological foundations of life?

It is psychologically hard to say "yes" when not buffered by a cautious barrier of "ifs." How many chances were overlooked by previous generations, beginning with the founding fathers of the postwar peace organization, who were the first to taste the sour grapes of confrontation! Conflicts have produced conflicts, problems have produced problems. There have been thaws, it seems, only so that the frost can strike again.

Only now, feeling themselves the inhabitants of one ark, have people started to understand how overloaded their vessel is. Of course, to unload it would be much easier if this matter had been taken up in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. But it hasn't been unloaded. So why then can something be accomplished today when it was impossible yesterday?

The telltale sign of our times are the breaks appearing in the glass wall which separates high-level politics from ordinary man. The spectator who, indignantly or ecstatically, observes world drama, or one of its passively suffering characters, has turned into an active figure. The man in the street has felt himself a host in the home. The insignficant countries and peoples have become participants in major world affairs. Would the Washington "zeroes" have written without the energy of those who beseiged Greenham Common and who matched the endless columns of peace supporters? And would the summit have ended the same way without assistance from the dozens of states which were formerly referred to as insignificant?

The need for democratization envelops all spheres of life. The very top floors of the political decision-making centres heed the voices from below. Then the decisions themselves will be quite different. Slowly but surely politics is turning to face man and his daily concerns for a dignified, safe life, and is becoming more humane and civilized.

This new way of thinking in politics - oriented towards man - is the only chance for peace.

Our lawyer in Paris M. Joë Nordmann reports that American extremist Lyndon LaRouche and the European Worker's Party have appealed last year's September 30 ruling by the higher city court of Paris to dismiss libel charges against New Times and have the plaintiff pay 10,000 francs in damages to the magazine.

The date of the retrial of the case at the Paris Court of Appeals has not yet been set.

●

The magazine's political observer S. Golyakov has returned from a trip to China. He visited the Peking publishing house Shitse chzhishi (International Relations) with whom an agreement on cooperation was reached. S. Golyakov also visited Shanghai and Tianjin. He will describe his impressions in coming issues.

●

The editorial board and publishing house have received Linotype photosetting equipment which is to be installed in our printing shop over the course of the first half of 1988. We would like to use this opportunity to thank the Soviet foreign trade organizations for an efficient tansaction of the deal and the Berthold und Stempel firm (Vienna) for timely delivery of the equipment.

●

We bring the attention of readers of certain editions of New Times to several temporary changes of principle in the publication of these editions. As it is known, from the moment the magazine was founded in 1943, the principle of complete identity between the Russian and foreign editions has been observed. Two of the editions (Polish and Czech) will now be expanded to 48 pages each. For technical reasons, however, we are compelled to keep the remaining six editions down to 32 pages. The latter will be expanded, we hope, in the second half of 1988.

●

Subscriptions to New Times-88 are still available from any Sojuzpechat or post office. If you would like to receive our magazine regularly beginning in March, please subscribe before JANUARY 31, 1988.

NEWS NT

P.S. The New Times editors are happy to inform all those concerned that the new subway station Chekhovskaya has been built right at out front door, so looking us up is now less of a problem than ever. This has been a most welcome New Year's gift, indeed!

Hurray for diplomacy!

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

Diplomats, like all of us, need a kind word from time to time. I regret to say, though, that in my three on-the-spot reports in covering the Washington summit which culminated in the signing of the INF treaty and whose agenda spanned the entire spectrum of world problems, I didn't say as much as a word about diplomacy as such.

There must have been some grounds for that. The man in the street doesn't think much of diplomacy. He has the impression that diplomacy is far removed from his daily chores, that diplomats are a select caste whose special lingo is meant to conceal their thoughts and whose job is beyond the comprehension of the uninitiated. And it does not seem to be an occupation of any more practical use than beating the air. The recently coined expression "people's diplomacy" has an obvious polemic sting in it: people are displeased with the way career diplomats are doing their work and try to take the bull by the horns on their own. Negotiations, dragging on for years behind closed doors, hardly add to the popularity of this trade, and cause resentment rather than thrills. The very name Geneva, associated with quiet and comfort, breeds secret suspicions that the pleasures surrounding the marathon talks largely account for their infinity.

This is a tempting hypothesis, but things aren't quite so simple. Treaties take a long time to draw up because they take a long time to develop. To arrive at a political decision also takes a long time. But as soon as a decision is made, everything changes magically: negotiations accelerate, insurmountable obstacles are overcome, and deadlocks of many years' standing are broken instantly.

After six years of talks, when the Kremlin and the White House had decided the time was ripe, the INF treaty was ready to be signed at short notice.

But even knowing this we must be grateful to diplomacy for its contribution towards the treaty.

The text of the treaty and the accompanying documents fill up 160 pages. Its contents boil down to two words: "double zero" or, at any rate, to one simple sentence: the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. There you have a mathematical formula of the complexity of the modern world, a manifestation of the splitting force of mistrust. In order to become a reality, a simple option capable of being put into two words, had to be clothed in tens and even hundreds of pages of carefully worded, mutual and absolutely equal obligations. Scrapping? What is supposed to be scrapped: the missile shells or warheads? The answer is both. What about fissionable materials - are they to be used as fuel for nuclear power plants or as "stuffing" for the warheads of other kinds of strategic or tactical missiles? And how are the missiles to be destroyed? By the "flattening" or "launching" method. And what's "verification on demand"? How much time is to elapse between a demand and actual on-the-spot inspection? No more than 16 hours. What are foreign inspectors going to do in the towns of Votkinsk and Magna? They will be posted at the entrance gates of missile plants and will make sure that no missiles classified as banned are taken out. All suspect vehicles are subject to inspection.

The treaty comprises 160 pages of guarantees against actual violations, and against the mistrust breaking the treaty.

Diplomacy takes credit for the treaty letter. But it is also a co-author of the treaty's spirit.

In order to bring the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the President of the U.S. together in Washington, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Secretary of State have had to meet five times since April. They held five rounds of talks, difficult and delicate work, but one that paved the way for the treaty and for the summit.

Diplomacy is commonly believed to be a nonemotional occupation. This is wrong. We remember the almost indescribable tone in which Eduard Shevardnadze told a Washington press conference about the agreement having been reached. His voice expressed satisfaction, joy and pride in the work which had yielded fruit, as any purposeful and creative effort should.

In this context I can't help recalling an announcement by George Shultz about the outcome of the Reykjavik summit. The door of the Hofdi House had closed just an hour before, and the two leaders, after curtly parting, went their separate ways. Shultz spoke in a gloomy, almost distressed tone of voice about a "setback," about a "bitter disappointment." What struck those present was not so much what he said, but the way he said it: Shultz obviously took the failure to reach an agreement as a personal defeat. There is a "nonemotional occupation" for you!

I shall permit myself a small digression here. In order to verify my impressions, I showed this passage to two acquaintances of mine - a journalist and a diplomat. Their reactions differed. The journalist, who had been present at that Reykjavik conference, confirmed my impression. The diplomat dismissed the "emotional" angle as nonsense. He said he had a long record of observing American politicians at close quarters and described them as experts in play-acting and image-building. He might have something there, but it didn't change my mind. The fact that Shultz said something entirely different the following morning only confirmed my view that he had at first given rein to his emotions.

I think it would be only fair now to do the U.S. Secretary of State justice in describing him as a realistically-minded statesman who has made his contribution to the treaty.

Those who know the American political scene well have long said that the two prominent figures, the Secretary of State and the Defence Secretary are poles apart. There were speculations as to which one of them had a stronger influence on the President and could be regarded as the real spokesman for the Reagan administration. Most opted for the aggressive Defence Secretary. But today Weinberger is in retirement, and Shultz can take legitimate pride in having had a hand in bringing about the first Soviet-American treaty that meant a real cutback on nuclear arms. Let's forget about the personal rivalries within the U.S. administration and leave them to American observers. What matters to us is the conflict between the two schools of thought in the administration regarding the possibility of, and need for, agreements with the Soviet Union on the most acute world issues. Today a more sober-minded and realistic position seems to have come into play.

Be that as it may, one would like to hope that this rewarding joint effort has not lost momentum. Success is inspiring. So may it inspire the Soviet and American diplomats who, within months from now, are to earnestly start preparations for a still farther-reaching treaty concerning a 50 per cent reduction of strategic nuclear arms. The summit has given them the go-ahead and the appropriate instructions. Now the matter is in the hands of practical diplomacy.

A momentous bid for disarmament

Interview with ambassador Alexei Obukhov

At the signing of the treaty, President Reagan thanked ambassadors Obukhov and Glitman, who had supervised the work involved in drawing it up, and said they deserved a good rest. Mikhail Gorbachev remarked, there and then, that it was too early for them to take a holiday: they had a still more important job to do. For Alexei Obukhov, 50, a career diplomat - as for his counterpart in Geneva - this was certainly the peak of achievement. After Washington he visited Cuba on an important mission: to inform Fidel Castro on the agreements reached, and then proceeded to London where he discussed the treaty with Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Geoffrey Howe.

I had a talk with the ambassador in his office on the 12th floor of the Foreign Ministry skyscraper (his work actually keeps him in Geneva most of the time). Our talk centred on preparations for the treaty, but we, of course, began with the Washington culmination.

"Alexei Alexandrovich, how did it feel to see the treaty signed?"

"It was a moment of incredible moral and nervous tension.... We were not the chief 'dramatis personae' and the heroes of the day, of course. The work we had done was largely technical, although it did involve a great deal of complicated diplomatic decision-making at the level assigned to our delegation. I felt elated when, in Washington, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan signed the treaty which we had put so much effort into. It was a truly memorable moment. The most impressive and stirring thing was that a document without any comparable precedent had appeared in Soviet-American relations. I mean, of course, the treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles, as the current term goes. The treaty provided for verification measures which before seemed simply incredible."

"You realize, of course, that your decisions will have far-reaching consequences. Many notions will undergo radical changes, to my mind. What has been legalized by the treaty shatters many former taboos."

"I think this is a natural development in modern politics attuned to present-day realities. You cannot do without such verification measures, if you are to make confident progress towards genuine nuclear disarmament.

"Far-reaching disarmament measures must be strictly verified. Verification is a factor of security, a phase of confidence-building.

"Indeed, even as we worked on one of the main documents pertaining to arms control - the memorandum of the treaty which contained detailed data on weapons (specifications, precise location), the list in itself seemed amazing even to professionals for its, let's say, frankness. And now all this is published here and in the United States. Indeed a window has been opened on an entirely new sphere."

"And still I think that many people consider this to be too much, even shocking. We guard our secrets jealously, and then you up and exchange with the opponent an enormous amount of top-secret information. Isn't this dangerous?"

Ambassador Alexei Obukhov and his American colleague in Geneva, Maynard Glitman.

Photo from New York Times

"This information was top-secret, to be sure. But the whole point is that an agreement aimed at achieving greater security for all necessitates a change in the criteria of, and in the very approach to, secrecy. We must now regard it in a different light.

"Nuclear armament is an extremely controversial phenomenon today. Its comparative levels are indicative of the balance of forces between states, of

course. At the same time, nuclear weapons are a menace to all. The task now is to get rid of this menace without upsetting parity. This is the No. 1 task of equal concern to us and to the Americans. It was set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev in the programme of January 15, 1986. This idea now preoccupies millions of honest, thinking people across the world who are genuinely concerned about the world around them and want peace for future generations.

"I think it only natural to renounce the former notions of secrecy. As for security, I am absolutely certain that while drawing up the above-mentioned document all the ensuing consequences were analyzed repeatedly both here and in the United States. It stands to reason that none of the sides would have signed the treaty, if it had offered anyone unilateral advantages. The result favours peace."

"What role did the military have to play

A DOCUMENT WITHOUT ANY COMPARABLE PRECEDENT IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

in preparing this treaty? Did any problems arise in the process?"

"My answer to this question will be quite definite: no, they didn't. From the professional standpoint, it was certainly not very easy to arrive at this or that decision in a number of cases. This was not surprising. What used to be locked in a strongbox suddenly became public knowledge: It was a victory for common sense, for the new political thinking.

"The INF treaty is a joint effort of people of various professions, the military included, of course. Each made his contribution to it. The diplomats confined themselves to their own sphere, although they are also supposed to be well-versed in other spheres. Negotiations are out of the question if their participants are ignorant of the military problems under discussion. For their part, the military are learning diplomatic skills because they can no longer do without them.

"So, when people congratulate our delegation, I always remark that these congratulations refer to all those who made this treaty possible and not only to the delegation proper which just helped to draw it up."

"Negotiations dragged on for six years, but it wasn't until the spring of 1987 that they really started moving. What happened?"

"Indeed, the last round of the talks, which lasted from April to December, was the most active one. Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State George Shultz negotiated problems pertaining to the treaty in Moscow in April 1987. Later, in September, they met in Washington, then in Moscow again in October and, in the same month, in Washington. The final, fifth, meeting between them was held in Geneva in November, right on the eve of the summit. All these meetings were of crucial importance for progress on the central issue. The delegation was assigned to record the agreements reached by the two foreign ministers whose contribution to the treaty was of decisive importance. It was not for nothing that in one of his statements in Washington Mikhail Gorbachev congratulated Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz on their effort."

"Incidentally, how do political decisions and your work correlate? What instructions did your delegation receive? Do you have free rein, and how far can you go? To what an extent are negotiations a creative process?"

"Instructions were of a most general nature. But in order to coordinate all the provisions in full, the sides must submit them to the most thorough discussion, of course. To begin with, it is necessary to disclose each side's conceptual point of departure, from which the process of coordinating words and expressions begins. When concepts coincide, finding the appropriate words is no problem. Both processes - that of thrashing out concepts and coordinating the forms of their verbal expression - are creative in the full sense of the word. All this requires the ability to find a common language with one's partner and to work out, in the end, the wordings which would express the positions already agreed upon by the sides."

"By force of a certain ideological disposition, we proceed from the premise that reaching an agreement with people holding views different from ours is a difficult matter. Our propaganda, and our public at large are prone to deny the other side elementary common sense. You are in daily contact with the other side. What are your first-hand impressions? How do ideology and foreign policy get along? How do you manage to reach an agreement despite striking ideological differences?"

"I think the public is right in believing that the process of coordinating documents of this kind between the Soviet Union and the United States is not an easy

HURRAY TO DIPLOMACY!

matter. On the whole, it is not from ideological considerations from which the difficulties involved stem. The thing is that each side pursues its real interests and its real concerns, including those in the sphere of security. Disarmament problems are immediately connected with them. So the task is to reach an agreement which would lower the level of nuclear confrontation, while neither impinging on any side's security interests, nor giving anyone unilateral advantages.

"Over the decades of the arms race, the sides' armed forces have grown asymmetrical due to a number of technological, historical, political and even geographical factors. They consist of different ingredients. One side emphasizes certain kinds of weapons, and the other relies on different kinds. Finding the common denominator and having the two sides' interests balance each other is a tall task."

"I see. And still, what place does ideology have in all this, to what an extent does it promote or hamper progress towards rapprochement - even psychologically?"

"The strategic and intermediate-range missile issues have been under negotiations for quite a while now. During the talks we insist on refraining from discussions of problems, political or ideological in this particular case, which have nothing to do with these weapons.

"I remember an incident during the SALT-2 talks when a 'freshman' in the U.S. delegation broke into a discourse upon the 'dissidents,' only to be booed by both American and Soviet representatives. Since then he displayed no desire to stray from the subject under discussion. This businesslike atmosphere carried over to the INF negotiations, on the whole. The human rights issue merits a special discussion.

"Nevertheless, matters of ideology do find their way into the discussions now and then in various contexts. So what? The sides 'exchange pleasantries....' But each time we get back to the business at hand and carry on our professional discussion of the weapons to be scrapped following the ratification of the treaty."

"Who is easier to deal with - conservatives or liberals? In Geneva you negotiated with both Max Kampelman and Paul Nitze.

Did their extremely conservative views interfere with the talks?"

"It's hard to tell.... I would put it this way: given the sides' mutual desire for an agreement progress is fast enough, even though it does come up against certain difficulties. But when there is no such mutual desire for a compromise, then both liberals and conservatives are equally difficult to deal with.

"Here is an example from a different area. I happened to have consulted and talked with Richard Perle. His reputation did not prevent us from discussing the establishment of centres for reducing nuclear danger. (Now these centres have come in very handy. It is through them that we shall exchange the information required for the fulfilment of the treaty). The talks took us six or seven working days. That is, they lasted for one calendar year and a half, but in terms of net working time we had meetings of no more than eight days' total.

"And a draft agreement was reached all right. Both sides wanted an agreement, and an agreement on centres was signed by Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz in September last year."

"You talk with the same men for months and years on end, and you cannot possibly fail to develop some kind of human relationships with them. In sports, they speak of friendly matches. Are you ever on friendly terms with your opposite numbers of the other team?"

"We politely call one another partners in negotiations. We seek to keep an even tone in our discussions. However, any discussion, even a constructive one, is always a polemic, not for a polemic's sake but for the sake of reaching a compromise, for finding a solution which would satisfy both sides. This is hard work."

"And still, is there mutual sympathy between those seated opposite one another at the negotiating table?"

"Of course, there is. But what really matters in this work is not so much sympathy as mutual respect, the readiness to hear a partner out - moreover, to appreciate the concern voiced by a partner in negotiations as he sets forth his side's position.

"The thing is that the negotiations of this kind are not an exchange of private emotions, although such exchanges do happen at times, but the matching of the sides' positions on, and approaches to, certain issues. Hence the strictness of the discussions. This is the ideal way to conduct negotiations, and I wish we could always stick to it."

Soviet RSD-10 (SS-20) intermediate-range missile.
The Washington Treaty has given both the SS-20s and the American Pershings the death sentence.

"Let us now go back to the INF treaty. After years of going all out to prove that Soviet missiles were necessary as a counterbalance to the American forward-based forces, the U.S.S.R. has finally consented to eliminate them in a quantity exceeding that of U.S. missiles 2 times. Why do you think this decisions is fair to the U.S.S.R.?"

"We are speaking about the balance of interests, which is truly embodied in the new treaty. The end result will be equal for the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. The attainment of this objective requires that the U.S.S.R. should destroy more missiles and warheads. But consider the nature of the threat posed by the missiles subject to destruction. Targets on the American territory are beyond these Soviet missiles' reach. On the other hand, the U.S. missiles deployed in Western Europe threaten the vital Soviet centres which they can reach within minutes of launching.

"It is important to see the long-term logic of our decision. The signing of the treaty is not an isolated event but an example of, and the first step towards, nuclear disarmament. Under the treaty of a 50 per cent cutback on strategic systems, the Americans will have to scrap more warheads than us."

"Well, it's high time we looked into the future. The best time for the next summit is believed to be May-June 1988. What are the guarantees that you will manage to get the next treaty ready by that deadline?"

"The subject of discussions is nothing new to us: the sides have been negotiating for 18 years now. After all we have the experience of preparing the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties which, to my mind, can still be drawn upon. The principles and procedures of verification we have now agreed upon will be useful in this new effort. But the problem is that we have a great deal to do and a very tight schedule."

"I recall hearing in Vladivostok that the SALT-2 treaty was 90 per cent ready then. What percentage is the new treaty ready as of now?"

"The Americans are fond of figuring everything in percentages. I wouldn't venture to give a simple answer to this question. Of the degree to which the texts are ready, about 90 per cent are still in brackets."

"What does 'in brackets' mean?"

"The text of the draft is recorded as follows: what we haven't agreed upon is written in brackets (our version under No. 1, American version under No. 2; with the Americans, it is the other way around, of course). In the process of further discussions, the draft gradually 'sheds' the brackets as formulas are agreed upon and finalized."

"Sounds like a fascinating word game. It can go on and on."

"I am telling you about just one technique we use in our work, so as to give you an idea of how far we've advanced in preparing the text of the treaty."

"Are you sure you'll manage this work in such a short period?"

"I was asked a similar question last April concerning the INF treaty. I said then that the odds were 70 per cent in favour of the treaty being signed. And now we stand much better chances of success."

An outburst of Palestinian wrath

ALEXANDER ZOTOV

The word "explosive" is no longer appropriate in describing the situation in the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories. There was quite a powerful explosion there in the middle of December, an outburst of unprecedented protest by the Palestinians of the West Bank Jordan and the Gaza Strip against military occupation established by Tel Aviv 20 years ago. The world watched with indignation how army units, tanks and helicopters attacked the anti-Israeli demonstrators (consisting mostly of young people who have grown up under occupation) and how troops opened fire on demonstrations.

Violent scenes also took place on Christmas eve in the Christian holy places - Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth. The clashes in Nazareth are significant because it is populated by Arabs and situated in Galilee, that is, Israel proper. It was the first time that solidarity with the Arabs in the occupied territories appeared so active.

During three weeks of fierce clashes dozens of Palestinians were killed and hundreds injured. More than 1,000 were caught or detained in roundups. Although tens of thousands of Palestinians took part in the demonstrations, described by the world press as a Palestinian revolt, none of the news analysts even attempted to estimate the chance that an unarmed population would be able to put up effective resistance to Israel's military machine. The paradox is that the real winner in this confrontation with long odds became apparent almost from the outset. The Palestinian people were able to counteract Tel Aviv's iron fist with the force of their despair, although despair does not always give people strength.

For many years subtle economic, military-administrative and psychological pressure has been used to obliterate from the minds of Palestinians the desire to uphold their rights as a self-determined nation. The events of the past few weeks show that Israeli leaders have suffered a considerable setback.

December 1987 will undoubtedly become a landmark in the process of the consolidation of Palestinian national consciousness. This explosion of protest did not occur all of a sudden, but was preceded by the steady growth of the Palestinians' determination to challenge the occupational regime.

In December 1986 riots broke out on the West Bank Jordan, and Israeli troop reinforcements were brought in, with some Palestinians shot dead or wounded. Last year the Israeli authorities repeatedly ordered the closing of Palestinian universities, and students and teachers were arrested.

Provocative actions were held in response to the growing indignation of the Palestinians. Israeli fascist-minded extremists such as Meir Kahane, who openly demand that the Palestinians should be thrown out of the "historical" boundaries of Israel, paid "visits" to Palestinian villages on the West Bank. Shortly before the December 1987 events, Ariel Sharon, an Israeli hawk with the rank of minister, purposefully moved to live in the Arab sector of Jerusalem.

Evaluating the present situation, the chairman of the U.N. special committee set up to investigate Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories, recently wrote to the U.N. Secretary-General: "The young generation of civilians, which has been born and brought up under the occupation rule, in constant contact with various measures of harassment, humiliation and restrictions upon its basic rights and freedoms, seems determined to oppose the occupants' rule and react against it."

The letter states further that "such an attitude is met by an equivalent determination" both on the part of the Israeli authorities implementing as of last year the so-called "iron fist" policy and Israeli settlers (who have been allowed to acquire and use arms) imposing their authority whenever possible to repress any manifestation of protest against the present situation.

At the same time Israeli officials bend over backwards to prove that violence has been rampant everywhere in the Middle East except under Israeli occupation on the West Bank, where the economic situation has been improving. Were it not for the PLO's subversive influence, Tel Aviv could reach an agreement with the "moderate" Palestinians.

The world has condemned Tel Aviv's latest crimes. Even Washington, who refrains from denouncing Israeli actions, remarked that troops should have used rubber bullets, not live ammunition, on the demonstrators, a practice common in South Korea. However, Tel Aviv seems to be following the practices of South Africa.

This again proves what the Soviet Union has repeatedly tried to convey to Tel Aviv: Israel has such a bad record of human rights and international law violations that, without substantial efforts on its own to improve, and without clear proof of renouncing its expansionist policy, Tel Aviv's desire to have normal relations with all countries can hardly be fulfilled.

In Resolution 605, adopted on December 22, the U.N. Security Council pointed out the need to take measures in defending the Palestinian population from Israeli occupation.

Repression will not break the Palestinians' determination, and they cannot be struck out of the Middle East equation. At the recent meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and King Hussein of Jordan, the Palestinian factor remains, in any case, a key element to Middle East settlement, and a lasting settlement is impossible without the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Palestinian protesters throwing stones at the Israeli fighter squad attacking them. Photo from Newsweek (U.S.)

AAPSO's tasks—old and new

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) was founded 30 years ago, in late 1957 - early 1958. Below, New Times reporter Alexander Usvatov talks with MOURAD GHALEB, a member of the AAPSO Presidential Committee and a prominent Egyptian politician and public activist, about the tasks of this organization and work methods.

Mourad Ghaleb knows Moscow well. And he is well known in Moscow, because for ten years (1961-71), he was Egypt's ambassador to the Soviet Union. "Under Nasser it was a golden age for Egyptian-Soviet relations," Mourad Ghaleb says.

He was then appointed Foreign Minister of Egypt. "As foreign minister, I held significantly different views than President Sadat in regards to our policy towards the Soviet Union," Mourad Ghaleb recalls. "And when, in 1972, President Sadat decided to expel Soviet experts from our country, he also removed me from the cabinet."

Later, in protest against Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977, Mourad Ghaleb, then ambassador to Yugoslavia, resigned from the diplomatic service in general and became active in the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization.

Ghaleb: The Afro-Asian solidarity movement was born at the height of the liberation struggle of peoples in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. It was engendered because the fighters for national independence were needed to render mutual aid in the hard struggle for the dignity and honour of their peoples against colonialism and oppression. In the East they say: a heavy burden is easier to carry together.

I remember well the inestimable role played for us the Egyptians in the broad campaign of solidarity during the tripartite aggression against our country in 1956. It was perhaps for this reason that the first conference of Afro-Asian solidarity convened in Cairo, where AAPSO set up its headquarters.

N.T.: What forms and methods of action are used by the Afro-Asian solidarity movement?

Ghaleb: International conferences and seminars, demonstrations, articles and statements published in the press, information and publicity activity are some of the numerous tactics used by the solidarity movement to influence the political climate.

One may recall here the powerful wave of worldwide solidarity and moral and political support for heroic Vietnam during U.S. intervention in Indo-China. Of course, not only AAPSO, but other progressive democratic movements as well, took part in this campaign. Consistent support for the just cause of the Palestinian people, support for the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, the exposure of South Africa's apartheid regime and its supporters are all concrete manifestations of solidarity with the peoples who have not yet won national independence, or have become victims of imperialist designs.

We not only give moral and political but also material aid. For instance, AAPSO and its national solidarity committees sent material aid to Ethiopia during the famine there.

N.T.: It is alarming that serious, even armed, conflicts often break out between Asian and African countries who participate in the solidarity movement.

Ghaleb: To our deep regret, the number of such conflicts has even increased recently. Take the devastating Iran-Iraq war, or the conflicts in Africa. The task of AAPSO as a public movement, therefore, is to more actively and convincingly instil in the conflicting parties that they should settle their disputes peacefully and direct their efforts towards the consolidation of their independence, the struggle for decolonization and social progress.

The newly freed nations share the grave and serious problems of poverty, illiteracy and diseases. We organize dialogues, free discussions, compare notes, all in an effort to develop a realistic basis of common positions, the general policy in the struggle against neocolonialism and the diktat of corporations. We struggle for economic independence, restructuring international economic relations based on just and democratic principles, and for the close linking of disarmament with development.

The solidarity movement of the two continents' public forces embodied by AAPSO, is akin to the non-aligned movement, which unites Third World countries on a government level. Both have grown up on the common ground of the historic Bandung principles.

AAPSO is the only international nongovernmental organization which enjoys observer status in the non-aligned movement and takes part in all its summit meetings. Its representatives also participate in the work of many specialized U.N. agencies, committees and commissions when the interests of African and Asian countries are discussed.

N.T.: It is argued in some developing countries that the prevention of nuclear war does not depend on them but on the nuclear superpowers. What do you think of such attitudes?

Ghaleb: There is nothing farther from the truth. If mankind wants to survive, all nations should take a purposeful part in the struggle against militarism and the nuclear threat, and the struggle for a non-nuclear and non-violent world. Especially since many Asian and African countries have become involved in the arms race.

Today AAPSO sees its task in more actively drawing the people of Asian and African countries into the anti-war movement, and in the fight for mankind's survival and universal security. The Soviet peace initiatives are met with general and favourable response in our countries. All of us warmly hail the first treaty on nuclear disarmament signed recently by American and Soviet leaders.

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New accents in foreign policy

Dr RANKO PETKOVIC,
Editor-in-Chief of the magazine Medjunarodna Politica (Yugoslavia)

A general discussion on foreign policy is now under way in Yugoslavia, inspired and activated by the difficulties which face the country today: economic difficulties, problems arising from relations between the republics and autonomous territories, nationality problems and specifically the slow adjustment to the situation in Kosovo. To solve these problems Yugoslavia requires a certain restructuring of its public and political institutions. And the discussions on foreign policy problems are an indication of the democratization of the political process.

Democratization of foreign policy

In the course of the discussion its participants are setting new tasks for the foreign policy bodies. There are three main demands. First - to make foreign policy a zone more open to criticisms. In effect, the discussion itself and the fact that this matter has been brought up indicates that the former taboos are dying out. Second - to return to Europe, i.e., to direct the country's foreign policy towards Europe, since Yugoslavia's main interests are on the continent. Third - to direct the country's foreign policy, first of all, to ensure its economic interests.

President Tito, with a highly recognized and universal reputation, was without any stipulations the main arbiter in all domestic and foreign policy matters. After his death monumental changes have taken place both in the world arena and inside the country. The Yugoslav public is insistently demanding the democratization of foreign policy to open it so that wide levels of the public can participate in determining, shaping and implementing foreign policy, as it follows from the relevant provisions of the Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In keeping with this the supreme body of power in Yugoslavia, the Skupstina (parliament), must make full use of the prerogatives given to it under the Constitution in this field. The Skupstina must be the top body that actually determines the country's foreign policy. Certain steps in this direction have already been taken: the shaping of foreign policy is gradually ceasing to be a "special sphere" of limited groups, which often transform their social functions into bureaucratic ones. Bureaucratic trends in directing foreign policy develop because these groups establish "a monopoly on information," making a fetish out of the special features of foreign policy and diplomatic activities.

Yugoslavia and Europe

At first glance the demand "to return to Europe" might seem strange. Yugoslavia never left the Old World, it was always in Europe and remains there today. Seventy per cent of its foreign trade falls to Europe. But the call for the Europeanization of its foreign policy is not entirely groundless. How did the problem arise? For a long time the public in Yugoslavia was convinced that its friends and main partners were far away - in Asia, Africa and Latin America.Now it is even being said that the status of a non-aligned country separated Yugoslavia from Europe. In this case the "Europeanization" of Yugoslavia's foreign policy could be interpreted at least as a call to cut down on its activities in the non-aligned movement.

In reality, however - and this should be stressed - no such dilemma exists. Europeanization not in the least means "more with Europe less with the non-aligned movement." The policy of non-alignment in no way contradicts Yugoslavia's greater activity on the European continent. For it should not be forgotten that the great prestige Yugoslavia gained in the world, and specifically in Europe, was due to its active role in the non-aligned movement. Therefore the question "is Yugoslavia working actively enough in Europe" looks entirely different.

What is highly important for Yugoslavia is the growth of the independent political role of the European countries, their awareness that they belong to the continent and share common interests. Yugoslavia has been working to lower the barriers between political blocs and to remove nuclear weapons from European soil during the postwar period, and it is these goals that form the basis of its orientation to non-alignment.

Both Yugoslavia's role in this movement and the international prestige of the movement of non-aligned states opened up new possibilities for Yugoslav foreign policy. Without all that its foreign policy would have been limited to the boundaries of the Balkan subregion, known from times immemorial as the backwoods of Europe

The status of a non-aligned state offers Yugoslavia great advantages in the system of relations that has developed in Europe. Thanks to this status Yugoslavia can cooperate successfully with all European countries and with all groups and organizations, no matter what political watersheds exist on the continent. It is known that Yugoslavia cooperates widely both with the CMEA and the EEC, and is seeking to participate more in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Individual Yugoslav enterprises are taking part in the Eureka programme. It should not be forgotten that Yugoslavia played a significant role in the all-European Helsinki conference process and in the group of nine neutral and non-aligned countries in Europe. What results can be expected from Yugoslavia opening its European window wider depends primarily on its success in realizing the potential of its economy.

Participation of the European countries in the scientific and technical revolution opens the continent's door to the 21st century. Greater involvement in the general European process would help Yugoslavia to surmount its current economic difficulties and to join in the process of scientific and technical progress sooner and on a wider scale.

There was a time when well-known writers and public figures were sent to the Yugoslav embassies abroad. Now the time

has come to send gifted economists and businessmen. One can well understand the public's demand that the creators of Yugoslavia's foreign policy and its diplomats should more seriously take into consideration the country's vital economic interests. In the past there were cases when they were ignored because of real or fictitious "higher aims." Today we can no longer put up with such a situation: because the repayment of our huge foreign debt of 20,000 million dollars requires an incredible effort from the people. It should also be remembered that the Third World countries owe Yugoslavia 5,000 million dollars.

What other tasks face Yugoslav foreign policy today? To name only a few of them, not in the order of their priority: Yugoslavia's participation in Balkan and Mediterranean affairs, contributing to the dialogue between Moscow and Washington, and helping to achieve mutual understanding between the two capitals.

Under the Balkan stars

All the Balkan countries supported the initiative of Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic, who has called for a conference of foreign ministers of the Balkan countries. Their meeting would be the first of its kind since the end of World War II. Albania also responded to the suggestion, although until recently it remained outside all the Balkan and general European processes, even such as the Helsinki conference.

Yugoslavia earned the world public's gratitude for calling a meeting of representatives of the Balkan states, although admittedly there remain many unresolved problems in relations between them, and they react differently to various types of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Yugoslavia's initiative proved the most acceptable because no "super-tasks" were set in Belgrade - the realities were taken fully into account. Yugoslavia set no agenda and gave its neighbours the opportunity to choose the subjects for discussion and to decide where and when the meeting of foreign ministers should be held.

Preparations for the meeting are already under way. The Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic met several of his Balkan colleagues during the 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly in New York. In addition, there were contacts at different levels in the Balkan capitals. To date it can be said that the conference will be held in February 1988, in Belgrade. Concrete issues will be discussed, including economics, science and technology, transport, tourism and ecology.

Each of the participants will arrive for the conference with his own list of problems that reflect the priorities of his country. Which, of course, means that in discussions on the so-called non-political issues - the main focus of the participants, in one way or another, directly or indirectly, from the rostrum or in the lobbies, everything that complicates relations between the Balkan states to the overall situation on the peninsula, will be discussed.

There was a time - factually or formally - when individual Balkan countries entered into alliances that were directed against other countries of the region and set up under pressure or influence of the then great powers. At that time the Balkans were most often referred to as the powder keg. And all the Balkan peoples without exception paid for the consequences. This sad experience only serves to underline the great value of all past and present initiatives of the Balkan states which could unite them on the platform of their common interests.

Until now all the numerous initiatives of the Balkan countries were founded primarily on two premises which determined the nature of these proposals. One group of proposals centred around the need for economic and scientific cooperation, as well as the need to develop cultural and other ties. Included in this group is Yugoslavia's proposal, which was made several years ago and aroused keen interest,on the development of economic cooperation between the Balkan countries, and the more recent proposal to call a conference of transport ministers to resolve the problems of railway and highway traffic.

Another group of proposals stressed the need to strengthen peace and security in the region.

The significance of these initiatives and the results of developing cooperation in all possible fields should not be underestimated. But it is proposals of a political nature that attract the public's attention in the Balkan states and in the entire world.

The Federal Skupstina, Yugoslavia's supreme government authority, must play the key role in making and carrying out the country's foreign policy.

Neighbours should be friends

The idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone was initially proposed in 1957 by the head of the Romanian government Chivu Stoica. But at that time the proposal remained up in the air. Since then thirty years passed, and the idea has now been resurrected. What is particularly important is that now Greece - the only NATO country that seeks a nuclear-free zone which would include Warsaw Pact countries - supports it. That adds feasibility to the idea of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. This idea is voiced in statements by government officials, and is widely discussed in diplomatic circles. For ten years now it has been the subject of discussion at gatherings of politicians, experts, members of the public, scientists and journalists.

In summing up the conclusions made in statements and at meetings, one could say that the formation of a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans would doubtlessly be in the

interests of all countries in the region. The difficulties (i.e., Turkey's hesitance and Albania's refusal) should not be underestimated, but they are not so great that they cannot be overcome. Especially since they - given the dynamics of the processes occurring in Europe and the whole world - promise the beginning of nuclear disarmament and greater possibilities for implementing more new initiatives aimed at strengthening security.

However, many see the ways for turning the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons into a zone of peace and security differently. There are basically two points of view. According to one, it is first necessary to resolve the existing problems in relations between the Balkan countries. Supporters of the other believe that the very fact that such a zone is created would provide a good beginning for, and have a beneficial effect, politically and psychologically, on resolving the problems existing in relations between the Balkan countries.

If one agrees in full with those of the first view then, bearing in mind the difficulties in bilateral relations of the countries of the region, a security zone in the Balkans could be postponed indefinitely. And that applies not only to the Balkan zone, but also to similar zones in other parts of the world.

And if one agrees in full with the second view, then a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans (or anywhere else, for that matter) would have a very fragile, unstable basis. In our opinion, a synthesis of the sensible points contained in both positions is required.

Yugoslavia favours a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons largely because in principle, it favours all initiatives that could lead to a decrease in the danger of nuclear weapon use or abuse. Yugoslavia itself is a nuclear-free zone, it stands outside any military-political alliances and is not linked by allied pledges with the great powers. One could add that as a member of the non-aligned movement, Yugoslavia has always supported and continues to support the idea of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace and cooperation in all corners of the world - be it the Mediterranean, Africa, the Indian Ocean, or the South Atlantic.

A nuclear-free zone in the Balkans or a regional summit do not seem imminent - there are still significant contradictions among the countries of the peninsula. The prospect could be realized by initially strengthening bilateral ties and then, later, multilateral ties. A conference of foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, as a more realistic measure, could help to strengthen mutual trust. Such a meeting would greatly promote mutual understanding and could help pinpoint and define the common interests of the Balkan countries.

The shores of three continents

When we speak of the Balkans it should not be forgotten that they form part of a much greater region - the Mediterranean. Yet one gets the impression that Yugoslav diplomats do not always keep this in mind.

It would, of course, be wrong to say that the makers of Yugoslavia's foreign policy did not follow the course of events in the Mediterranean. They were invariably more focussed on processes taking place in the Asian or African zones of this vast region. Now, however, we can hope that when pursuing its foreign policy the present ideological and political climate in Yugoslavia will help take into greater account Yugoslav interests in the Mediterranean. A more balanced approach calls for increased attention to that part of the continent where Yugoslavia lies - the European shores of the Mediterranean.

A conference of foreign ministers of the non-aligned Mediterranean countries was held this past summer on Brioni, in keeping with the decisions made in Harare in 1986 by the 8th conference of heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries. The representatives of the Mediterranean countries discussed a variety of problems of this uneasy region, but they paid the greatest attention to those more commonly shared, including economic and ecological problems and problems of scientific and technical cooperation.

Great interest was aroused by Yugoslavia's initiative to develop a dialogue between the Mediterranean countries, including the European countries and those belonging to different military and political alliances. It can be hoped that such a meeting of Mediterranean countries will soon take place - it is highly possible. Such a meeting would help convince its participants that although the Mediterranean separates them, it also brings them closer together.

The gradual pooling together of all the Mediterranean countries and the pooling of their efforts to resolve common problems and to promote common interests is what Yugoslavia will consistently work for within the framework of the general European process. It should be said that Mediterranean problems are far from occupying a prominent place in the Helsinki conference process. Yugoslavia will also put forward suggestions for resolving existing problems at forums of progressive political movements and parties of the Mediterranean countries. More flexibility, a greater spirit of tolerance is needed, now that the new way of thinking is making its way throughout both the Mediterranean area and the world.

On the Transatlantic line

Yugoslavia is one of the few countries whose relations with the great powers were far from being the best at different periods of development of international relations after the war. The fact that it is now successfully cooperating with the Soviet Union, the United States and China is a major foreign policy achievement. This cooperation is developing actively in all fields on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

It's only natural that Yugoslavia should sincerely support the dialogue between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. Any step towards disarmament - be it nuclear or conventional - any step towards stopping or preventing so-called regional conflicts, towards surmounting the mistrust between the largest world powers, could have the most positive effect on the situation in the world community, a community sick and tired of the different versions of the arms race, of military intervention and interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and other similar actions.

The bold and far-reaching proposals put forward by the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev, the perestroika in the Soviet Union, and the gradual resumption of sensible and realistic approaches to international problems in U.S. political circles will, as we hope, lead to a historic turning point, to the establishment of a peaceful world order.

The road to peaceful order is far from being as smooth as the pavement on Nevsky Prospekt. But mankind has no other road towards survival.

We stand on the threshold of the 21st century. He who remains in the chains of the past is bound to lose. Our times are indeed times of perestroika. Politics of today should be more mobile and flexible.

I believe we could say that Yugoslavia's foreign policy, imbued with the desire to become as dynamic as possible, will increasingly meet the requirements of the country's national interests and the demands of our times.

Health for all

VLADISLAV CHIRKOV

During an international exhibition of medical equipment and medicaments in Havana, visitors to the Cuban section showed the greatest interest in a stand where a plastic device pulsated rhythmically in a large perspex cube, pumping a colourless liquid. It was the first model of the Coramec-100 artificial heart developed by Cuban scientists. Coramec is an abbreviation of the Spanish phrase "corazon mecanico" (mechanical heart).

Although the artificial heart designed in Cuba has so far been only used as an exhibit, even that news alone could cause a sensation if we didn't already know about the prodigious advances of Cuban medicine and health services and if we weren't aware, for example, that several Cubans have lived for more than a year now with heart transplants. The first such operation was performed in the Ameijeiras brothers surgery centre in Havana in December 1985. The newspaper Granma commented that while in the United States a heart transplant costs the patient 120,000 dollars, in Cuba it is free, just like all the other kinds of medical assistance, for that matter. As elsewhere in the world, however, such operations in Cuba are not yet done on a mass scale: they are too complicated.

Staff at a clinic in Santiago de Cuba have performed more than 300 successful kidney transplants. Havana surgeons in July grafted a donor's liver on a 54-year-old patient and in October he checked out with what was virtually a "clean bill of health." Cuban physicians also have to their credit simultaneous transplant of heart and liver.

In another development demonstrating that Cuban specialists have mastered the most advanced techniques in modern medicine, Cuba on December 21, 1986, had its first test-tube baby. The boy was born perfectly healthy, weighing 2 kilogrammes 415 grammes and measuring 45 centimetres. In that case as well, the happy parents have not had to spend a single peso. By contrast, in the U.S. an infertile couple has to pay some 17,000 dollars for a specialist examination and the first attempt at in-vitro impregnation. If that one fails, each of the subsequent tries will cost them another 5,000 or so dollars.

The fact that Cuba has been the first in the world to conduct a mass vaccination campaign against group B infectious meningitis also says much about the country's progress.

Cuban medicine is in many ways unmatched in Latin America. The Institute of Fundamental Cerebral Research founded in 1961, for example, is the region's first centre of its kind. The prestige of Cuban medicine is so high that Havana is often selected as the venue for meetings of specialists from many countries. These forums have included lately, among others, the 1st convention of the Latin American society of neuroendocrinologists, the 11th pan-American congress on endocrinology and the 1st pan-American congress of angiologists - experts concerned with vascular diseases.

Cuban doctors use up-to-the-minute medical equipment. Technology employed for diagnosis includes, for instance, ultrasound, axial computer tomography and nuclear magnetic resonance. A layman will perhaps need some time to understand what these techniques are all about. Specialists in Japan and Austria, however, have quickly realized the high value of research done in this field by Cuban scientist and clinician Orlando Valls: his works are published in those countries.

The latest news from Cuba has included a report on the opening of an immunological research centre in Havana, which, among other things, is destined to become a school for training specialists in prenatal genetic checks.

Part of the medical equipment used in Cuba is imported. But Cuba's own electronic facilities for some branches of the health system have prompted interest abroad as well.

A surgery centre in Cienfuegos

Bank out, hospital in

In Havana they like to show foreign visitors a 22-storey building erected after the revolution. It was first occupied by a bank, but then the high-rise was turned over to a hospital.

The health system inherited by the popular government from the Batista dictatorship was underdeveloped and geared mostly to catering for the elite. The situation was complicated by the fact that many doctors had chosen to move to the United States and that Washington had cut off U.S. medical supplies to Cuba. Today, however, the latter is itself an exporter of pharmaceuticals, including celebrated interferon.

A wide-ranging programme for training medical personnel, setting up a ramified network of curative institutions and developing the national medical industry was among the first priorities of the revolutionary government. That programme has been successfully fulfilled and now further-reaching measures are being carried out in these fields.

In 1981-85, a total of 31 pediatric departments were built, besides other hospital units. Plans for the current five-year-plan period are also extensive, providing for the construction of 27 new hospitals, 45 polyclinics, 12 dental clinics, 87 old people's homes and 26 homes for the disabled. A programme has been drawn up to build special schools for children suffering from this or that chronic ailment.

It is known how much trouble bad teeth can cause people. So in Cuba they have adopted a comprehensive programme to combat caries, which covers the period up to the year 2000.

A nationwide anti-smoking campaign was launched more than a year ago. The way has been led by Fidel Castro who has finally quit his invariable cigar. The campaign's results today are as follows: the average Cuban's annual cigarette consumption has shrunk by 15 packets, 6 per cent of smokers have dropped the habit altogether and another 24 per cent reach for a cigarette much less frequently than before.

Another interesting detail: so as to let diabetics continue enjoying the juice of citrus fruits, Cuban specialists have devised technology for desaccharifying oranges and grapefruits, with saccharin added to the resulting drink.

Family doctor

There is now one physician in Cuba per less than 450 heads of population, which is among the best ratios in the world.

The large number of medical personnel, trained both at Cuban colleges and in fraternal socialist countries, has made it possible to launch the national Family Doctor programme. The mission of the family doctor, a general practitioner, is to monitor the health of people living in his or her neighbourhood. They can thus count on receiving prompt and qualified first aid in the event of an indisposition, injury or exacerbation of a chronic illness. If need be, the family doctor directs a patient to a particular specialist at the local polyclinic and accompanies him or her to tell the colleague about the course of the disease and to voice his own medical opinion.

According to May 1987 statistics, there were 2,500 family doctors in Cuba at the time, 300 of them in mountainous areas and remote villages. Most GP practices, however, have been opened in major cities where health services lately have been showing signs of a certain stress. The number of GPs is expected to reach 20,000 within the next ten years.

A colleague from TASS news agency, describing the typical premises of a family doctor in the Lenin District in the city of Holguin, said it was a two-storey cottage with freshly-painted white walls. The ground floor was complete with a small, but cosy and furnished waiting room, the doctor's consulting room and a nurse's room, while the first floor housed the medical practitioner's flat.

A family doctor has come to examine a child.

AIN - TASS photos

Havana's family doctors recently held their second get-together to discuss a programme of medical assistance for the elderly, ways of consolidating contacts with polyclinics and hospitals, and acupuncture methods. The meeting was chaired by Fidel Castro, indicating the high significance attached to the Family Doctor programme. Cuba is probably the only country to have adopted a programme of such a scale. As to the Soviet Union, the transformation of our local physicians, who are up to their ears in work, including excessive paperwork, into family doctors is still only at the planning stage.

Battle with a new enemy

"Classical" epidemics are now a thing of the past in Cuba and tuberculosis and poliomyelitis have on the whole been wiped out. But the new "scourge of the century" - AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) - has not bypassed Cuba which is among the 127 countries that had registered cases of the disease by November 1, 1987. By early September there had been 147 AIDS cases identified in Cuba and three of them had died by that time. Characteristically, all three had been in contact with foreigners.

As soon as the first alarming signal was received, Cuba began taking most decisive measures against AIDS. Way back three years ago, Granma reported, a national task force of specialists in different fields was formed to analyze foreign information on the perfidious disease and work out specific measures to prevent its spread in Cuba. One of the first steps was a ban on the import of medicines and preparations based on human blood from the nations where the disease is rampant. Epidemiological monitoring procedures have been introduced at all medical institutions to detect AIDS infections. A campaign has been organized to explain to the people the nature of the new plague, the way in which it is transmitted, and preventive measures. A nationwide network of AIDS diagnosis laboratories has been set up.

AIDS carriers in Cuba are isolated. In some countries, Fidel Castro noted, Cuba is criticized for this measure which in practice helps to protect healthy people as well as the sufferers themselves since they are provided with all essential conditions to follow a special regimen making it possible to slow down the progress of the disease until a cure is found. This method, the Cuban leader added, precludes the possibility of large groups of people contracting the virus....

* * *

The achievements of Cuban medicine can be summed up with mathematical precision.

According to data for December 1987, the infant mortality rate in the country stands at 13 per 1,000 births. It is one of the lowest figures in the world and is to be further reduced to 10 by 1992. Whereas before the revolution average life expectancy amounted to 58 years, now it is 74 years (the target for 1997 is 80 years).

The health of the working people is the nation's most valuable asset and medicine is a real productive sector. A person who is healthy, feels fine and doesn't need sick leaves makes the maximum contribution to the common effort.

On January 1, the Cuban people celebrate the anniversary of their revolution.

Congratulations, friends!

Good health to you!

CONVERSION. IS IT POSSIBLE?

New Times continues the discussion on the problems of switching military production over to civilian production

This discussion, it will be recalled, was prompted by a letter from our reader Alexander Pauk, who does think that the military machine should not be dismantled, but could be regeared to other tasks (see issue No. 39).

Pauk's view is shared by RONALD HAFFNER, our reader from Döbern, the German Democratic Republic, who believes that the army should be kept at least because it is

A good school of character training

Servicemen can perform seemingly impossible tasks due to their ability to carry out work in any, sometimes extreme, climatic conditions.

Or take another aspect of the question. Military rules and principles are, in effect, applied in the running of services where security is important. For instance, there are many strict instructions and rules to follow while working on the railways. If servicemen took over the leading positions there, the personnel problem would be solved, and the railways would work efficiently.

Naval bases are scattered all over the world. Instead of being a threat to the neighbouring countries, they could be used to rescue the victims of shipwrecks and thus reduce the consequences of such disasters to a minimum. Aircraft carriers and other warships could be deployed to perform breakdown and rescue services.

These are only a few examples. But, I am sure, considerably more examples could be found, if we thought over the alternative uses of the armed forces, as suggested by Alexander Pauk.

Lastly, there is one more and no less essential aspect of the question concerning the alternative use of the army. My grandmother used to tell me that a man who has not served in the army is an inferior person. When this remark was addressed to me, I politely kept silent. But later I understood how right she was.

The lads who have already served in the army are more capable of assuming responsibility and answering for others. They are more sure of themselves, more serious and control their actions better than others. The army instils habits in them where other methods of upbringing fail. It is mainly the army which sets great store in honesty and in the accuracy of fulfilling an assignment. For in everyday life people often have to subordinate their interests to those of the work collective. The army order is the best means of educating them in this way.

Of course, the time may come when the armed forces will no longer be needed. But this does not mean that the positive qualities instilled in young people who serve in the army should disappear.

NEW TIMES

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ
TEMPS NOUVEAUX
NEUE ZEIT
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TEMPOS NOVOS
TEMPI NUOVI
NOWE CZASY
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LAKE BAIKAL, A GEM OF RUSSIA

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NOVEMBER

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DECEMBER

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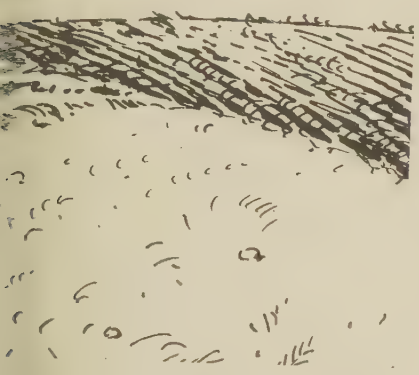
January 1 — New Year; March 8 — International Women's Day; May 1 — Day of International Solidarity of Working People; May 9 — Victory Day; October 7 — Constitution Day; November 7 — 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

1988

VADIM BRAVICHEV, a builder from the town of Gagarin in the Smolensk Region, disagrees with Alexander Pauk and Ronald Haffner. The issue is not that the military should turn to other tasks, he thinks. Conversion should

Kill several birds with one stone

A realistic examination of the problems of conversion convinces one that the tasks and goals of the military are not going to change in the next 15 years. Cuts in nuclear and conventional armaments are rather political measures. No sensible politician will change the present structure of the armed forces without security



guarantees, and nobody can provide such guarantees.

For the army fulfils a dual task: it ensures national sovereignty and internal political stability. Who can guarantee that a political or economic crisis will not break out in a country? It should also be remembered that the army itself can make policy, for it is quite a potent force.

There is another aspect of the conversion problem. In the West, the profit reaped from the arms race goes to corporations in the munitions industry. In our country, the funds for armaments are freely used through government orders by appropriate departments, for our state does not spare money for defence either. As military budgets grow disproportions in the economy increase too.

Of course, the military-industrial complex can be influenced by political measures, but its ability to resist should not be forgotten either. For conversion would mean a reduction of military budgets. It is evident that political and economic measures taken against the military-industrial complex must be drastic enough.

As is known, the army can be very effective in many situations, particularly during national disasters. But the aim of conversion does not boil down to reducing the army and setting new tasks before it. As long as there are weapons, they will be used, and this is what the army exists for. The issue is **how** to convert the munitions industry to civilian production, killing several birds with one stone, i.e.: ensuring a higher profit from the manufacture of civilian goods as compared with arms production, retaining the work force employed, and creating new jobs for specialists to be retired from the army as a result of cuts. One should also be prepared even to run foreign policy risks. Thus, a host of problems arise, and an immense political will is needed to make the war machine run in the opposite direction. Will any politicians be capable of taking such a step? Let us hope so.

The military-industrial complex could be offered the chance to carry out government programmes of space exploration for industrial purposes such as power generation, communication, metallurgy, biotechnology, prospecting on the moon, the building of research and industrial complexes there. There are numerous potential projects of this sort. It should be realized that in our world there is no room for business in murder weapons.

It is said that money doesn't smell, even if its source is war. But money doesn't smell until war affects those who profit from it. When their homes are hit by war too, it will hardly comfort them to know that the enemy was struck by "their weapons."

I do not understand the motives of businessmen in the military-industrial complex. Of course, they rake in fat profits and enjoy power and international prestige. And then too there is chauvinism. But I would like to ask big businessmen and politicians: just what is it you're hoping for? - because you won't even make it in time to your bunkers.

Strange as it might seem to Vadim Bravichev, his view is shared for the most part by LES ARNOLD, a Californian businessman who can be rightly described as a representative of the military-industrial complex. He was a guest of New Times as a participant in a seminar sponsored by the Centre for American-Soviet Dialogue and the Soviet Peace Committee.

Where to invest a billion dollars

As manager of a company that manufactures electronics for the U.S. defence industry and founder of an organization called Defence Executives for Human Success, I regularly bring together decision-makers from the world of industry to discuss international issues relating to defence and the quality of life. We are now preparing to send a delegation of defence industrial executives to the Soviet Union in mid-1988 for a conference on American-Soviet relations.

The role of businessmen in improving relations with the Soviet Union is particularly crucial at this time. Anticipating the abolition of shorter- and medium-range missiles, many of us are especially encouraged by the possibilities of arms reduction.

Why? Many people in the United States and the Soviet Union traditionally see business interests as greedy and selfish. There is scepticism about whether businessmen, particularly in the defence industry, will favour reduced military tensions and, therefore, reduced military spending.

Yet, in the long run, business people in both the Soviet Union and the United States believe that the genuine security of a nation must go beyond military capability. Firm security stems from the vitality of the population and the quality of life, the effective performance of the national economy, as well as the appropriate level of defence.

Similar ideas are promoted by another organization of American business leaders known as Business Executives for National Security. This large and influential group looks beyond the control of nuclear weapons for long-term alternatives to excessive arms spending.

Large military budgets remove a si-

zable chunk from any nation's resources available for improving the quality of life or enhancing the competitiveness of our industry. Some observers think that America's loss of leadership in a number of world markets is convincing proof of the negative effects of large-scale military spending. The U.S. share in the world markets of automobiles, household electronics, machine tools, and in international banking has dwindled significantly.

Therefore, looking ahead, we believe that an improvement in American-Soviet relations would permit a gradual shift of financial, scientific, technological and manufacturing resources now used for defence to non-military applications.

In an atmosphere of growing American-Soviet trust that could result from gradual arms cuts, our countries could reap tremendous benefit from the conversion of the military industry to civilian needs. Many people believe that our nations ought to pay more attention to the global problems of environment protection and the quality of life. Death from starvation, disposal of toxic waste, air and water pollution, deforestation and dangerous diseases are worthy challenges for any thinking society.

Critics of converting the war economy to civilian production often point out that military business provides jobs, stimulates economic growth, and promotes scientific and technological progress. John Anderson, director of product marketing for the International Business Machines, disagrees with these conclusions. He says that while regions like California have many thousands of jobs thanks to defence spending, investment in the military industry creates considerably fewer jobs than the same funds used in other industries.

John Anderson also examines the influence of military expenditure on economic growth. Rather than stimulating growth, military spending moves capital out of the civilian sector into the very narrow and specialized defence sector of the economy. Such investment consumes raw materials and other resources without increasing the output of consumer goods.

The narrow concentration of resources limits capital growth in the manufacturing industry and minimizes technical innovation. Labour productivity suffers as a result. Between 1978 and 1985 it rose only 0.7 per cent a year while in Japan it increased six times, and in the F.R.G. three times, faster. It can be assumed that in the Soviet Union the growth rate of labour productivity is slowing down in the same way as in the United States.

Finally, there is the question of how military spending contributes to technological progress. In the past, improvements in jet engines, computers and electronic devices resulted from investment in military technologies. But, as Japan's industrial success and innovation in the U.S. civilian industry show, improvements in technology now seem to come more from non-military sources.

Despite the adverse effect of excessive military expenditure on the national economy, the defence industries are interested in the continuation of such investment. In view of this, the greatest challenge facing the United States and the Soviet Union is perhaps to formulate long-term and effective investment alternatives for the engineering, scientific and industrial resources now directed at defence. The elaboration of concrete conversion plans may encourage military-industrial interests to consider gradual shifts in the character of their future business.

For instance, there is growing interest in joint U.S.-Soviet business ventures. Such cooperation could be economically advantageous to both sides and would enable them to build greater trust.

As conversion is planned, it would be quite logical to direct scientific and technical resources towards innovations in production processes, to develop new materials. Perhaps energy-saving modes of transportation could be advanced to reduce dependence on organic fuel. Biological engineering and improvement of medical services would be important areas for the use of resources released thanks to conversion. As a result of conversion, more resources could be channelled into electronics for research, the modernization of means of long-distance communication.

Space research is one more area in which non-military cooperation could prove fruitful. Employees of the jet propulsion laboratory in California recently proposed combining American and Soviet efforts to land a roving vehicle on Mars for the collection of scientific samples.

Long-term prospects for the economic progress of both the United States and the Soviet Union are also opened by their assistance to developing nations. As they expand their economies, these densely populated countries will purchase industrial products required to build the much-needed infrastructures. They will also need large quantities of equipment for housing and road construction, to expand power generation and sanitary services, and to fit out schools, hospitals and other public buildings. As the economies of developing countries grow, the demand of their population for consumer goods of all types will increase too.

Some may voice concern by arguing that arms spending cuts would cripple U.S. or Soviet national security. A rough parity in the level of armaments will have to be maintained during any transition period so that the balance of forces is not upset. With some 50,000 nuclear warheads in our combined arsenals, even a small fraction of the currently deployed weapons is enough to inflict irreparable harm on the opponent.

Lord Zuckerman, a professor at Cambridge, England, and former chief scientific adviser to Britain's Secretary of State for Defence, once observed: "There is no need to threaten to use nuclear force in order to defend our way of life. It would be destroyed more quickly by nuclear war than it ever would by ideological arguments between the West and the communist bloc."

Let us therefore consider the possibility of a shift from mutually assured destruction to the mutually assured reduction of mankind's global problems.

Various aspects of converting the economy from military to civilian production have been under expert consideration for several years now. But today this is not enough, ARNOLD SHLEPAKOV, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and director of its Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries, is convinced that

Concrete projects are needed

I recollect my wartime childhood when we - my mother and her three children - managed to procure a bed (a piece of luck in those hard years). I still remember this sturdy bed and the label of its maker - a plant belonging to the People's Commissariat for Tank Industry. This is a minor point, of course, but it lends weight, I think, to the view that the rechannelling of military production is technically feasible and essentially necessary.

The idea of drawing the attention of public opinion to the ways, means and consequences of switching the war economy to production for civilian needs was inspired by an international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development, held in New york last August. I also recall another forum, World Congress on Disarmament Education, held by UNESCO in Paris in 1980.

Most loudly heard at the congress in Paris were the voices of those who predicted that disarmament could be achieved only by the coming generations. The conference in New York last August discussed how to make optimal use of the funds released in the process of disarmament and what problems are most urgent in this respect. It was a concrete discussion, and disarmament was perceived as a quite real goal.

It has been estimated in the course of the debates on the subject that the money spent on one bomber would be enough to build a large number of schools and child-

In Chernobyl, soil and vehicles were decontaminated by anti-gas units.

Photo by V. Ankov

care institutions, while the cost of one submarine would be sufficient to combat an epidemic or any other similar disaster. These calculations are fairly accurate for the most part. But with all their emotional impact, they appear remote from reality. They should be supplemented by concrete projects.

For instance, in the early 1960s there was a project for constructing a bridge across the Bering Strait to link the Soviet Union and the United States and, in effect, two hemispheres. I do not presume to judge whether or not this project is technically feasible, but I consider it definitely attractive because it makes for the creation of a new political and psychological climate and provides an argument in favour of conversion plans which had already been advanced by experts at that time.

The redirection of means, resources and intellectual efforts from the industries of war to production for civil needs becomes a practical necessity calling for a rational substantiation of the numerous ways of implementing this changeover and a sober consideration of its consequences.

In our days conversion can and must have a comprehensive and much more planned character. This will, of course, call for preliminary developments and calculations and the modelling of the technological, economic and social aspects of conversion. As regards the technological aspects, conversion does not seem to present considerable difficulties in military aircraft and shipbuilding.

Opponents of the relationship between disarmament and development argued at the New York conference that the planned abolition of chemical weapons was an extremely complicated task because it would require more investment than the manufacture of these weapons.

Reasoning of this kind smacks of blasphemy, for how can one talk about the relative "profitability" of the manufacture of murder weapons and the technology of their destruction. Besides, experiments with the disposal and processing of highly toxic agents, demonstrated recently at Shikhany, Saratov Region, and Tooele, Utah, have irrefutably proved that such operations are feasible both economically and technologically. Of course, this does not remove the complexity of some technical problems involved in the dismantling, disposal and processing of certain types of armaments, equipment and facilities. But this does not make the feasibility of the task less evident.

One should also recall here that a number of enterprises in the defence industries of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have acquired experience in manufacturing civilian products, including prams which are, unfortunately, still scarce in our country.

Experts, research groups and centres, international nongovernmental and intergovernmental organizations have already explored possible ways and means of conversion. Monographs, booklets and articles of more than 80 titles are indicated in the section on conversion of the bibliographical review compiled by the preparatory committee of the international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development.

Though some of the provisions formulated in them are controversial, these publications contain very useful proposals for carrying out conversion measures. It is high time to study these publications in order to draw from them every point that is worthy of being put into practice. This could be done by a group of reputable experts under the aegis of the United Nations.

The anxiety of economists and trade unionists over the social consequences of conversion can well be understood. The abovementioned publications envisage, though not in full measure, practical steps for the refraining and vocational reorientation of personnel and their socio-psychological adaptation to the new conditions of work.

A survey of investigations carried out by experts in different countries published in the International Labour Review in the spring of 1985 comes to the conclusion that the resources made available as a result of conversion of military industries will help double employment in the civilian sector of the economy.

A number of trade unions at munitions factories in West Germany and Britain have drawn up concrete plans for expanding consumer output, thereby keeping the work force employed at these factories. This initiative is especially useful because it involves workers in the discussion of problems that affect their future, and dispels their fears of becoming redundant as a result of conversion.

No less important is the fact that leaders of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions show increasing interest in the problem of conversion. Large trade union associations could facilitate the staged adaptation of workers employed in munitions factories to the conditions of civilian production by setting up funds for the retraining of personnel and for the financial support of those who are temporarily unemployed.

Incidentally, these and other measures could be included in special government programmes. Worthy of interest in this respect are proposals advanced by a conference of nongovernmental organizations on relationship between disarmament and development, held in Stockholm last May. These proposals envisage, in particular, the formation of national commissions to draw up conversion plans, prepare a comprehensive model of the "peace economy" taking into account the financial, economic, social and cultural factors of development, and to hold worldwide campaigns to explain the prospects of disarmament and conversion.

Among other global and national initiatives efforts to explain the problems of conversion are as important as organizational measures. A psychological conversion should help the world community perceive an alternative to the present situation burdened with fear, trouble and mistrust.

Compiled by
FELIX GORYUNOV

The reform is taking over

YURI SHEVCHENKO

Worker and profit: new labour stimuli

So the hopes are becoming a reality. Since January 1 thousands of industrial and agricultural enterprises, a large number of research and trade institutions, the catering service and cultural establishments have shifted to new economic principles: full cost accounting, self-support and self-financing.

The radical economic reform and its linch-pin, the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) of the U.S.S.R., whose text back at the time of its discussion became a best seller, may be ranked as a revolutionary event in the field of improving an economic model of socialism.

What is the message of the law?

Its message is that now the production and social development of each enterprise directly and even strictly depends on the results of its activity, on the income naturally requires thrift in managing accounting and self-financing, now coming to the fore, greatly enhance the workers' responsibility for the results of their labour, introduce fundamental changes into the pattern of planning and make the process more democratic. A new economic category, known as cost accounting income, comes into effect. This will serve as a major source for wages and material remuneration, for the formation of funds for developing production, research and technology and for social development. A desire to raise an income naturally requires economizing in managing the enterprise, a rise in labour productivity and production quality, and economical use of resources.

The law frees up a plant or a factory of petty tutelage, gives scope for creative and labour initiative, allows enterprises to set up work collective councils reflecting their will and interests. The councils are granted considerable rights and can greatly influence all aspects of enterprise activities. Thus, the socialist system of democratic bodies comes to include its most important constituent, democracy in the sphere of production.

The consistent development of a socialist self-government principle, including the ability to elect executives - from team leader to director - adds up to the economic reform and the law in question.

A law is usually interpreted as something unshakeable, impartially just and exhaustive. Although now a norm and binding for all, full cost accounting in no way becomes an automatic reality - it must be fought for. And the battle does not look easy.

First of all, what I have in mind here is the unique idea of "a radical economic reform on the basis of the broad democratization of society" which represents a complex combination of concepts.

Isn't there a contradiction between the urgent need for drastic, vigorous (forced?) changes in the country's economy and, at the same time, the course for an extension of rights of every person and collective, the right to choose an alternative, to have one's own opinion or to doubt? Yes, there is. However, it is obvious that this contradiction cannot be described as insoluble because in the long run, both needs share a common goal, that is, the development and improvement of socialism.

The mechanism of bureaucratic inertia is another difficulty, one more obstacle in the way of today's reform and democratization in general.

Experts at the Institute of Sociological Studies of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences cite 18 million as the number of "managers" presently nationwide. It would be inappropriate perhaps to equate the entire army of these people with opponents of perestroika, although inertia and resistance to it are deeply rooted here.

This resistance takes peculiar forms. It does not spell out its aggressiveness and intended opposition. It even appears at times to be unaware of these deplorable qualities in itself. The resistance openly and grandiloquently advocates renewal and democratization, deliberately adapting its colouring to the environment. But the question is that these people do not need the reform. The reform pulls the rug out from under their executive chairs, makes their previous favourite mode of living and mode of thinking pointless, pardon the unintentional tautology.

Bureaucratic stupidity, even zeal, can also become factors of resistance.

As a result, in place of publicly condemned "the ceiling" target sent down from the higher-ups, its substitutes appear. Today, for instance, enterprises in their production activities have become responsible for a new index known as "the fulfilment of the state order." As a rule, the state order is a part of the plant or a factory programme, the portion of production which is most important. But what is to be done if such orders (and thre are facts to back it up in a number of industries) give the enterprise a target that is 5 or sometimes 10 per cent greater than its capacities? What does it remain for the enterprise to plan? Do not such "state orders" totally emasculate the independence of an enterprise as a self-governing and self-regulated production unit?

Rather peculiar distortions also occur because of the tenacious bureaucratic approach in the sphere of cost accounting. A portion from the profit of a self-supporting enterprise is to be deducted as state revenue, which is proper and legitimate. However, some departments fleece their subordinate enterprises to such an extent that the latter are left with 10 per cent of their own profits. Do we need departments that equate themselves with the treasury, advocating cost accounting but only what concerns others?

Perestroika, which has brought about sweeping changes in enterprises, is still a stranger to the ministry, although some transformations there have been occurring, such as cutting down of staff, mergers, alteration of functions. But they do not, in my opinion, affect the essential, since the ministry actually retains the right of directive planning and controlling resources.

The new Law on the State Enterprise provides for mutual responsibility of an enterprise and an executive body.

The responsibility of a subordinate to a higher body is customary.

What will be the mechanism of the new "downward" responsibility? We will, undoubtedly, know within the next few weeks and months.

PRICES AND PRICE FORMATION
NT ROUND TABLE

HOW MUCH?

Preparations are under way in the Soviet Union for a radical reform of price formation, as one of the most important elements in the radical restructuring of the economy.

The main thing is to transform figures that have remained frozen for decades into an active instrument of guiding the economy.

Views differ on how this should be done: should prices be cut, should their overall level be kept stable, or, in the interests of a quick solution to many economic problems, should prices be increased with the population compensated for this increase. These questions have been widely discussed.

New Times economic observer Vladimir Kvint asked doctors of economics Anatoly Deryabin, Yuri Kashin and Victor Efremov to give their views on the problem of a price reform.

New Times: My first question to Anatoly Deryabin. Why has the debate on the problem of prices flared up so sharply in scientific circles now, when we are restructuring and improving the economic mechanism?

A.Deryabin: If I were asked about the main objectives of the perestroika I would single out balancing the national economy, eliminating all shortages, strengthening the Soviet currency and not allowing inflation. These tasks cannot be resolved without doing something about prices. But changes in wholesale prices for industrial goods, in the state purchasing prices on agricultural raw materials and farm products, the prices in construction work or transport fares will inevitably affect the retail prices of consumer goods and services. In other words, the vital interests of all members of society without exception will be affected. That is why the problem has attracted so much attention.

N.T.: You once remarked that traders at the Cheremushki Market in Moscow are well versed in economics. What did you mean by that?

A.D.: That they understand perfectly well how prices are affected by supply and demand and by an agreement between the sellers. That's why year after year the Central Statistical Board has to report price rises ranging between 5 and 12 per cent on the collective farm markets. In other words, a monopoly price reigns on the market as a result of limited supply and a deal between the sellers. Incidentally, this is how the monopolies in the West operate too.

N.T.: So what in your opinion should be changed in retail pricing, and in prices on the collective farm markets?

A.D.: To prevent the fixing of high monopoly prices, the first essential thing is to increase the supply, by providing all who wish with plots of land. Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of this at the June (1987) Plenum of the CC CPSU, and not long ago a special government decision was taken on the question.

Y. Kashin: Prices at the collective farm market are much more the result of production conditions. They reflect the real cost of, say, the production of meat or milk. So it is no mere coincidence that the market price of meat corresponds approximately to the prices argued about in the debates on increasing prices in state and cooperative shops. Naturally, the law of supply and demand operates, and the price, irrespective of deals, is based on real outlays. As a matter of fact, we assess the level of satisfaction of consumer supply by the dynamics of prices on the collective farm markets. Calculations show that today prices on the market for the same range of goods are 2-2.7 times higher than in the state and cooperative shops. But in the mid-sixties they were only 40 per cent higher.

N.T.: In other words, the market price for meat is 2-2.7 times higher than the state price because the state subsidizes the meat-packing plants to make up the differences. And this subsidy, in effect, means financing inefficiency. So while the subsidies for meat, milk and bread do keep prices low, they do nothing to combat excessive, even unnecessary production expenses. In that sense, of course, subsidies are an element of the low-efficiency economy.

So, what are the pros and cons for price increases or their stabilization, or cuts in wholesale, purchasing and retail prices.

A.D.: Since there exists an overall imbalance between the solvent consumer demand and the supply of goods, one can hardly consider a cut in the retail prices of consumer goods. But nor does a price increase in this context solve anything. The additional income the state would receive from higher prices would have to be returned in full to the population in different forms of compensations, since under no circumstances can we allow the standard of living to drop.

In my opinion, the answer to the problem should be sought in the sphere of production. Wholesale prices, tariffs, etc., have to be cut. The producers will, of course, find it hard to make the same wages, but there will be less subsidies and the habitual price structure will be changed. And habits have to be changed gradually.

N.T.: But, since, as we say, the law of value operates under socialism, the dynamics of prices are determined by the dynamics of changes in expenditure of labour, materials and energy....

A.D.: The thing is that the level of outlays to which advocates of increased food prices refer is totally unfounded. The press is full of reports showing that the transition to new progressive forms of labour in agriculture could reduce the production costs to one fifth, one tenth, one fifteenth and even one twentieth of their current costs. So what should we look to? To the old backward forms of organization of labour and agricultural production which waste resources, or look forward to the new modern methods perfectly accessible to us? When I speak of progressive forms of organization of labour, I do not mean new machines or new technology. Expenditure can be drastically reduced using existing machines and technologies, merely through proper organization.

V.Efremov: The paradox - strange as it may sound - is that today we practically do not know how much the production of a commodity really costs the state.

The accounting system is so complex and so tangled up that before contemplating improvements in price formation, we have to learn how to count real outlays. For example, the so-called unaccounted-for costs arising from the practically constant use of additional temporary labour in industry and agriculture.

N.T.: At one time this country used to systematically lower prices, then later - in the past 15-20 years - prices remained stable while wages were increased. However, wages rose noticeably faster than labour productivity. That is why certain economists now suggest permitting moderate inflation, i.e.,allowing the prices of consumer goods to rise. Which way would be more correct?

Vladimir KVINT

"LET'S PUT OURSELVES IN A SHOPPER'S SHOES"

A.D.: Personally I don't have much faith in a moderate, regulated rate of inflation. Higher retail prices require compensation - i.e., increasing wages, pensions, student grants, and that leads to increased production costs. Raising wholesale prices in industry (prices of raw materials, fuel, energy, etc.) will have much the same effect. Higher costs will again tend to push retail prices up. That means the state will have to raise wages again, etc. The French economist, Minister for Finance and Economic Affairs in the Pompidou government and later President of France Valéry Giscard d'Estaing warned that in such a case auto-inflation would develop, which unlike other forms of inflation knows no limits. We can see that this is indeed so from the example of Hungary, and even more strikingly, that of Yugoslavia.

N.T.: Yes, that problem was recently considered by the Hungarian economist Academician Robert Hoch at the Soviet-Hungarian symposium on price formation.

Y.K.: There was a time when the problem of inflation was taboo in our economic literature, since it was maintained that it was nonexistent in a socialist society. Today, on the contrary, some people believe that inflation goes hand in hand with commodity-money relations. I think that is going to the other extreme. Planned economic development, and the economically correct use of commodity-money relations in a socialist system should, in principle, rule out any inflation. The essential premise for resolving this complex problem is to ensure that the unshakeable objective of all planning is to obtain a fully balanced national economy.

N.T.: At this point, it is probably necessary to mention the problem of strengthening the ruble and increasing its purchasing power. Its strengthening should put a curb on growing prices and on inflation.

Y.K.: Increasing the purchasing power of the ruble could be described as the strategic objective, which can be achieved through sharp planned increase in the productivity of labour and reducing the socially necessary expenditure of labour. It is these two factors which, in the final analysis, should make for a drop in overall price levels. But other solutions are also possible in the intermediate stage. They, however regrettably, do not allow us to get around out of the general regularities. If the overall price level rises, this inevitably decreases the purchasing power of the ruble. Structural price changes are another matter, i.e., when increases in prices of certain commodities are compensated by cuts in prices of other commodities with a higher level of stability.

N.T.: If I understood you correctly, what you are saying is that while pursuing the strategic policy aimed at pushing down the overall level of prices, it would be tactically correct to raise prices on separate groups of commodities, while keeping within the limits of their real production cost.

A.D.: It has to be remembered that an increase in prices does not produce either additional machine tools, or more consumer goods. Thus the need arises for a redistribution. But just take a look at how bureaucratically this problem is resolved at times. It is much easier and simpler to push up prices than to increase the output of goods. And where, as a result of such increases, costs inevitably rise, they are compensated by pushing up prices. So there is no redistribution: all the imbalances and disproportions are reproduced again, but on another price scale. A vicious circle is created.

N.T.: Let's look at things from the ordinary consumer's point of view. At present the least available manufactured goods and some food products are distributed in some towns directly from the factory or workplace. If the prices of these goods are increased sharply they will be available in any shop. Won't we arrive at a situation whereby some people will be able to engage only in window-shopping,while others will be able to use their illegal earnings to freely buy what they previously procured "under the counter"?

V.E.: It's true that shortages inevitably produce phenomena that are anything but a blessing for our economy. They aggravate social problems. Those who favour price increases fail to take into consideration one important factor: according to the Central Statistical Board, 35 per cent of the population today has a monthly income of less than 100 rubles per person. That is the social group (pensioners, students) whose standard of living we must preserve at any cost. To make sure that the shopwindow displays should not be turned into museum stands, that there should be no stratification of our society, we should, in my view, seek to eliminate mismanagement and waste, which are usually compensated for by high wholesale prices.

N.T.: I can remember how in the seventies we increased petrol prices...

V.E.: That is a perfect illustration of the deficiencies of our price formation system. A gross mistake was made: the price of petrol for private car owners was doubled (and taking into account previous price rises, it actually went up fourfold) while the price of petrol for state vehicles remained unchanged. And what happened? When a private car owner wanted to refill his tank he went not to a state petrol station, but to the drivers of state vehicles, thereby in effect buying stolen petrol. As a result, the income flowing into the state budget remained practically unchanged - the state was actually paying for the petrol of a considerable proportion of private cars. Of course, what should have been done was to boost petrol prices simultaneously for both private cars and state vehicles.

A.D.: Yes, petrol prices were increased, but with our dense network of waterways and tens of millions of motorboats, there isn't a single pumping station at any river wharf. Where are people supposed to buy petrol? The state can raise prices ad infinitum, but it will never benefit from these increases - because the only way out for boat owners is to buy stolen petrol.

Anatoly DERYABIN

"IT'S TIME WE REVISED THE PRICE FORMATION MECHANISM"

Y.K.: Let's look at certain other commodities. Take, for example, carpets or gold-ware. And again we see obvious miscalculations, if not mistakes. The constant rise in the prices of gold jewelry instead of regulating demand stepped it up. Because consumers either knew or suspected that another price increase would eventually come. Hence the very simple economic idea: in order to regulat

demand, or restrict it in the case of shortages, prices should initially be set at their ceiling and then have only one tendency - to drop. Then they will operate as regulators of supply and demand.

N.T.: The mistakes made in setting prices prompt the thought that in this field glasnost is particularly essential.

But don't you think that if factories are given the right to set their own prices this could lead to constant new increases? Perhaps factories should have the right only to reduce them as compared to the ones set?

A.D.: The democratization of price formation is often carried out in a bureaucratic manner. Take the latest example. The Krasnoyarsk heavy excavator plant warned the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy which refused to accept its produce because of over-pricing (twice the usual price) that it would have to accept them in the end because no other plant in the country produces such excavators. And for good measure it added: don't think that in fixing our contract price, we shall subsequently cut it. We won't.

Y.K.: The idea behind the new economic policy is that we must move away from the diktat of the producer towards enhancing the role of the consumer. Only in that case will the contract price work in the right direction.

V.E.: I quite agree that when there is no competition and, consequently, no choice

Victor EFREMOV

"MAINTAIN LIVING STANDARD IN ANY CASE"

and a shortage exists, the policy of giving greater scope to contract prices leads directly to the unjustified whipping up of prices throughout the national economy. Such a measure is premature. And from my point of view it can only do harm and lead to inflation and more inflation. The national economy will gain nothing from it. It is a pity that the bodies responsible for price formation, including the State Price Committee do not always seem to understand this....

N.T.: One more question. Our country is gradually becoming increasingly involved in the international division of labour. What effect do prices have on stimulating international trade and Soviet foreign trade?

A.D.: Lately it has been pointed out that the level of our prices should be brought more closely into line with the so-called world level. I should point out that no developed country has a price system that is a carbon copy of world prices. Each country has a system of tariffs which allow goods bought on the world market to compete with similar goods made inside the country. Such system is virtually nonexistent in the Soviet Union. At present, many enterprises have received the right to trade with other countries, bypassing the Foreign Trade Ministry. But because there are no tariffs, competition is out of the question. As I see, the only way out is to introduce into the system of foreign trade import and export tariffs for goods going out of the country and coming in.

Y.K.: The participation of our country in the international division of labour raises the question, first and foremost, of the competitiveness of our goods. We must change our export structure, sharply increase the share of manufactured goods, the industries producing full-processed raw materials, and the share of top-quality goods.

A.D.: I believe the more we are drawn into the international division of labour the greater the advantages we shall reap from it. We need not produce everything under the sun, but can buy what will cost us less on world markets. At the same time, by selling our goods to other countries we shall be taking greater account of world prices in our domestic market. This, however, should not be forced on the economy, it should happen naturally. Breaking up existing proportions in order to bring domestic prices closer to world prices has been proved wrong through experiments.

V.E.: Many economists regard the revision of the existing retail price system as the first step towards improving distributive relations, I, personally, disagree with such a view. Because the price system, especially the retail price system, cannot be considered in isolation from improvements in the entire system of distributive relations - wages, the financial and credit systems, the money circulation. Since any revision of the existing retail prices is not only an economic measure, but also a social and political measure, it should be approached with the utmost caution.

Before we start changing retail prices, a whole series of preparatory measures have to be put through. First: we have to restore order to the system of calculating production costs. We must know exactly how much one ton of a metal or meat costs society, or a kilogram of bread, and so on. Second: the system of wholesale prices has to be revised. At present our wholesale prices cover up all our shortcomings and mismanagement. Third: the place prices occupy in our economic mechanism has to be reviewed. I am convinced that we are entering a new era when the level of prices as social norms should dictate the proportions of the plan. Fourth: we must learn how to increase state revenue by making the most of unused reserves. One example: specialists have long suggested introducing a new system of dividing meat carcases, which at our present level of resources would give 1,500 million rubles of extra revenue just by putting fillet into a separate category.

According to my calculations, there is a real possibility that wholesale prices should be cut and not increased. And when we restore order to wholesale prices, we can take another look and see whether increases are really necessary in the retail prices of meat and other basic foodstuffs.

Yuri KASHIN

"FROM THE DIKTAT OF THE PRODUCER TOWARDS ENHANCING THE ROLE OF THE CONSUMER"

N.T.: We have already mentioned the problem of the democratization of price formation. I should like to round off this discussion by raising the issue concerning the connection between the wider economic rights of local government bodies and price formation.

A.D.: Briefly, my view is that the democratization of price formation means that control over changes in prices should be in the hands of the local Soviets, not central departments. Only the local Soviets can find the right combination of the interests of the entire people, the state, each individual and each collective, and see that these interests are observed.

V.E.: The scope for action on the part of local Soviets is immense. They, more than anyone else, can do the necessary groundwork involved in the fixing of prices. They should also be given the right to punish all responsible for violations of the wholesale and retail prices policy.

Recorded by VLADIMIR GALIN

A postcard from Bielefeld

LEONID IONIN

I got a letter recently from Bielefeld in Westfalen, the F.R.G. It is a small town standing on the edge of the Teutoburger Wald, a forest that cuts an arch across half the country. Just out of town there stands a somewhat cumbersome monument to Arminius, under whose leadership the Germans defeated Roman legions in the battle of Teutoburger Wald. A professor at Bielefeld University told me, however, that Arminius began with serving the Romans but, having run afoul of them, defected to the German side. School history books published in Germany during the Kaiser's rule and the Third Reich make no mention of that development. At the time Arminius was considered a model of Teutonic valour and loyalty to the Fatherland. Biographical details of national heroes are not at times conducive to fostering nationalist sentiments.

But let us go back to the letter. Enclosed in the envelope was a birthday card. Written on it in a very familiar, schoolteacher's hand, not without a Gothic flourish, was the following: "Dear Leonid, many happy returns of the day. Our best wishes of happiness and success. Heinz, Annelise, Anke, and Dirk." The card was signed by all members of the Hagemann family.

I recall how I first met them. Several years ago, with a scholarship from the Alexander Humboldt Foundation, I worked for some time at the school of sociology at Bielefeld University. At first I stayed at a university apartment, but since I intended to stay for a while I had to look for other lodgings. After several unsuccessful attempts at renting an apartment my Bielefeld colleague Professor Richard Grathoff took me to Grewenbrink, a quiet lane on the outskirts of town, two steps away from the University.

A stocky man of about 60 (I learned later that he was much older) with completely grey hair opened the door. Yes, he had a separate apartment to rent out. A living room, a kitchen, and a bathroom, and a separate entranceway.

"Sind sie aus Polen!"

"Nein, aus Soviet Union."

"O, Russland!"

I was about to say good-bye, found myself lingering. The man said that no guest is more welcome to his house than a guest from Russia. He was sincerely delighted to see me on his doorstep. He was talking a blue streak, asking me lots of questions, answering some of them himself, and in general, full of praise for Russia. I noticed, however, that his knowledge of my country did not seem to go beyond the standard tourist circuit; the Kremlin, Suzdal, Novgorod, the Bolshoi Theatre. It transpired later that he had known Russia more intimately. The next day I moved in and in due course Heinz and I became very good friends.

There have always been several images of Germany in the Russian mind. A Germany of highly intellectual culture, the freedom-loving country of Goethe and Schiller, great musicians, writers, philosophers, and natural scientists, who coexisted with a Germany of haughty junkers and generals who nurtured a sense of belonging to an exclusive caste. It is a striking paradox that in the minds of the latter the height of German culture was never translated into an awareness of the integrity of the world and the equality of everyone before the spirit, but it rather turned into a feeling of actual exclusiveness. Amazingly, these men managed to infect the whole nation with that sentiment. "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles." Germany above conscience, honour, and as it came to pass, above all that is humane.

There was yet another image of Germany in the minds of the Russian people. A Germany of hard-working farmers, skilled engineers, and diligent workers. True, whenever the well-known German punctuality was praised it was with a touch of censure and even arrogance. These were seen as signs of a pedantic and bureaucratic mind, something alien to the free and expansive ways of the Russians.

Stereotypes of that nature are very firmly imbedded. In his latest book Victor Konetsky recalls that in the early days of the World War II siege of Leningrad one could "very often meet intellectuals who felt certain that our propaganda was exaggerating German atrocities. After all, they said, the Germans are cultured, they have Beethoven." Some sixty years ago Vladimir Nabokov wrote this in response to the habitual admiration evoked in his fellow-countrymen by all things German: "Good Lord! How they marvel at it! 'A small gemütlich Germany.' Oh, those neat brick houses, oh, those kiddies on their way to school, and really a farmer would never use his stick on his good old dobbin! You just wait, he will finish the old dobbin off in his own German way, in some nook or cranny with an iron rod." A very blunt statement, but is it fair or not? Who is bold enough to judge now, more than forty years after the fall of fascism when to the fanfare of its propaganda millions of people were sadistically exterminated in the Reich's "nooks and crannies"?

My own image of Germany was not of course confined to stereotypes. But we a must confess to human fallacies and wha you know in theory is very different fro what you feel. That was why I was amaze at the hospitality and almost Russian way of my kind host. And I encountered plent of these good feelings afterwards.

We talked about all kinds of things. W did not avoid delicate subjects: do w have freedom, why do Russians go abroa so infrequently, why do they tend to be s stand-offish.... Could it be, I was begin ning to wonder, that there is a stereotyp of the Russians also, that the people her believe that the Russians are pedanti bureaucrats devoid of human feeling: Really, that is not something that we eve wanted.

But finally, we touched upon a subje over which a meeting of the minds woul be difficult. If my memory serves me righ it was Christmas Day and we were sittin beside a Christmas tree. The candles we burning and under the tree there stoc a small plywood and cardboard Nativi scene, complete with a manger adorne with moss and straw in which baby Jes lay. I recalled these lines by Bor Pasternak:

> On a winter day
> A wind came from the field
> It brought cold to the shelter
> this side of the hill
> Where the baby lay.

Very soon our conversation moved fr biblical to historical times. I learned th

on Christmas Day in 1942 First Lieutenant Hagemann was in charge of an artillery battery in a snow-swept country near Tula, Russia. A wind came from the field. That was a Russian winter, not a winter in Palestine. I listened to Heinz's story: "That was a real war. I had been in France and Norway, but nowhere had it been so hard as on the Eastern Front. I was badly wounded...." There was a note of awe in his voice, either for the snows of Russia or for his own recollections.

"We used to have a Russian interpreter on the battery. His name was An-drey-ev (he pronounced the Russian name in three syllables), a POW. He used to sing very beautiful songs. When we began our retreat we told him, look, you'd better run to the rear lines. If they catch us, we're only POWs but they'd shoot you on the spot. He said: 'Where can I run? I am a Russian. You cannot run from Russia.'"

"Whatever happened to him?"

"I don't exactly know. He just disappeared."

Heinz continued his story about the war. I did not say a word. My father, Hero of the Soviet Union Grigory Petrovich Ionin, died about a month before this conversation from wounds, which he suffered, the official citation would say, while defending his Motherland from nazi invaders during the Great Patriotic War. After that fateful call came from Moscow I took a late train to Frankfort, and from there, an early flight to Moscow. I remember the ride to Frankfort very clearly. The industrial landscape of Ruhr stretched endlessly. I saw fire in the giant workshops, and tears streamed down my cheeks. I could not help thinking that it was here that tank armour was forged, and here where they made the bullets that pierced my father's body, the body of my Motherland, and now my own body, causing terrible pain. I was alone in the compartment and as the train sped on I felt that I hated Germany.

Now that several years have passed I realize that my emotional state was the result of a severe shock and that on no occasion before or after did I feel hatred towards Germany. There was no hate. There is no hate. When I recall what my father told me I think that he, too, felt no hate in spite of all the suffering he went through. His attitude was guarded and at times became hostile or contemptuous, with a touch of pride - a winner's attitude towards a defeated enemy. But never did it turn into hate. It is impossible to live by hate, which is good thing about human memory. Human memory does not retain state of shock, though it does retain the circumstances under which it happened, and that is why we are able to analyze that state, draw from it the appropriate lessons, and plan our future.

But on that Christmas night the shock was still too fresh in my memory. I could not just sit there and feel detached from the things Heinz was discussing. I told him of course what associations all this aroused in my mind. Heinz and Annelise showed such respect for my grief that I even felt better. I felt that was not just the natural sympathy of any decent person towards someone's terrible loss. Theirs was a personal sympathy for me and respect for my father's memory, brought about by the awareness of the bizarre interlacing of human - and historical - fates.

We returned to that subject on many occasions as Heinz had plenty of time to talk. After the war he was a teacher and then a school principal, and when I stayed in his house he was already retired. I felt he was more inclined to discuss that subject than I, but I can't say we always agreed.

"Your father," Heinz would say, "was doing his duty as a soldier and I was doing my duty. He defended his Fatherland and I defended mine."

"But it was you who came to Russia as an invader. He did not come to Germany...."

At this our conversation would peter out.

The relationship between one's duty as a soldier and citizen, the dictates of one's conscience, and one's responsibility for his own choice is a very complicated one. I don't think that Heinz was insincere. That was how he interpreted his life which made it, perhaps, easier for him to live that way. But when you shed all responsibility, there is a good chance that someone will assume it for you and use your good faith for an evil purpose. That was how it happened in Germany (and not only in Germany).

But there was one thing in which we were of one mind. Heinz recalled that after the war he felt happy to be alive. May God save our children from anything like that, he would say. His daughter Anke and his son Dirk studied away from home and my son went to school in Moscow. "It was good to know you," Heinz would say. "We now think of Russia differently." How could I argue about that?

Once Heinz told me that he was thinking of inviting a couple of children from the Soviet Union to his house for the summer. "I've got plenty of room," he said, "I'd pay for all the expenses. There are many boys and girls in the neighbourhood. They can play together and have fun and see how we live here. I'll write to the General Secretary and invite them over." I was sceptical about the project. Heinz was not particularly dead set on it either.

We met in Moscow about a year later and we still write each other. I must confess that sometimes I am late with my replies, but may this story be proof to Heinz and his family of my warm and sincere feelings towards them.

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There are people in the F.R.G. who, like the Bourbons of old, have never forgotten anything, but have never learned anything either. There also are a great many people, mostly young and middle-aged, who regard militarism and chauvinism as something profoundly alien. They make every effort to combat any sign of them, mindful of the terrible calamities that were inflicted on the world whenever militarism and chauvinism were alllowed to prevail.

Over the year since nazi Germany collapsed, the mentality and way of life of West Germans has changed to an unprecedented extent in German history. Many stereotypical traits of German national are now a thing of the past. The cult of brute force is gone. Generals are no longer the most respected citizens and a military uniform is no longer the best proof of the merits of its owner. More and more people refuse to serve in the army. Under the Constitution they have the option to work at a hospital, a home for the aged or the like for the period of time equal to the period of army service. Women in the F.R.G. are no longer required by convention to spend their waking hours in the kitchen or to be fertile "mothers of soldiers." Women have professions and are very active in public movements.

I have no intention of taking my generalizations too far and creating another stereotype. Any biassed notion will eventually be discarded, but it is a fact that these very people, young and old, believers and non-believers, students, professors, engineers and apprentices march for peace and demonstrate outside U.S. military bases.

I have some acquaintances among them, but I purposefully decided to write about Heinz Hagemann. His is a more complicated story. He is an elderly man who has lived a difficult life. He used to somehow fit into the image of a stereotypical German, but no longer does. That is a good sign. It is also the order of this day and age when any hostility, any chauvinism, any drive to settle disputes by force, may spell an end to all of us.

Our planet is far too small to accommodate clashing national ambitions. As soon as this is realized by everyone the past will no longer stand between people. The nations will have enough political vision to choose a future free of nuclear weapons, a future that is ecologically clean, and a future purged of stereotypes and prejudice that poison human souls. I can see a diplomatic outcome to my relationship with Heinz and Annelise. But it is not a result of government diplomacy, it is a result of people's diplomacy, to use a popular term. The famous Soviet diplomat Alexandra Kollontai said: "A diplomat who has not given his country new friends has failed in his line of duty." This, above all, pertains to people's diplomacy, which establishes contacts according to the inclinations of the human heart, rather than legal statutes, and which, I feel, has very good prospects.

Having received that postcard from Bielefeld I wrote to Heinz that "perhaps the time is right to go ahead with your project. If not us, our fellow countrymen should go ahead with it."

Our readers evince great interest in" blank spots" in history. It must be admitted, however, that our social sciences lag behind this growing public interest. So, more often than not Soviet historical fiction provides answers to such questions. Below, we begin publication of a new work by well-known Soviet playwright Mikhail Shatrov.

ONWARD... ONWARD!

MIKHAIL SHATROV

We want to speak to those who in October 1917 and much later stood in the limelight on the stage of History, though on different sides of the barricades.

We want to give them an opportunity to speak to us.

We want to see ourselves in the mirror of the Revolution, and the Revolution in every day of our lives.

Has the pure, strong voice of the Revolution always sounded to the full? When and why was it muted and barely audible? How did we come to allow it to be muffled? And how did we succeed, in spite of everything, in accomplishing what we have accomplished?

We want to take a closer look at the record in order to move forward from here with a clear vision of the past.

And so, let us give the floor to

Kornilov, Sverdlov, Struve, Spiridonova, Markov, Kerensky, Trotsky, Stalin, Plekhanov, Orjonikidze, Lukomsky, Dzerzhinsky, Zinovyev, Kamenev, Martov, Denikin, Dan, Krupskaya, Bukharin, Fofanova, Rahja, Lenin, as well as Rosa Luxemburg, and Colonel Polkovnikov.

Twenty-two armchairs form a semicircle on the scene. The characters of the play take their seats as they come out one after another:

Kornilov. I, General Lavr Kornilov, in the troubled time of general disarray brought about by the mealymouthed liberals, led my troops against Petrograd in order to drive the herd back into their stalls, but did not succeed because of the treachery of Kerensky. I hereby declare: I know no feeling of remorse, I reproach myself not for taking action but for being too lenient and half-hearted in doing so. October 24, 1917, found me in Bykhov, in a girls' school that had been turned into a prison for the distinguished generals of the Russian army who had joined me in the action.

Sverdlov. Yakov Sverdlov, Bolshevik. Died in the second year of the Revolution by blind chance - felled by the Spanish flu.... At the age of 34. On October 24 I was in the Smolny. I don't think I left the building that day, although I was anxious to go to Fofanova's flat on Serdobolsky Street where we had arranged clandestine quarters for Lenin. No unanimity had been reached in the Central Committee at the question of the uprising, though there was not a moment to lose.

Struve. Pyotr Struve, philosopher, economist, coeval of the young Ulyanov. In my youth I toyed with Marxism, collaborated with Lenin, frequently had the pleasure of dining with him. My stepmother, Kalmykova, was an ardent admirer of his, and he took his meals with us. I actually contributed five rubles, and perhaps even more, to his Iskra. The 1905 events sobered me. For me Bolshevism was a mixture of Russian moonshine with hogwash from Karl Marx. I helped Kornilov, Denikin and Wrangel. And later on, as an émigré, those around me. I had equal loathing for Kerensky and Milyukov.

I died unhappy in 1944, in Paris. Stalin was beating the Germans, there seemed nothing to hope for. Some of us reconciled themselves to him; what difference, they said, did it make whether the Tsar of All the Russias was called General Secretary or something else. He had extended the empire, regained lost territories and was winning the war. Russia was becoming the second greatest power in the world.... I do not believe in refurbished Bolshevism.

On October 24, when there was still time to change everything, I begged, pleaded with and tried to persuade my friends in Petrograd, but no one would listen to me. The bell was tolling for them but they did not hear it.

Spiridonova. Maria Spiridonova, member of the Central Committee of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, of the gentry. Joined the revolutionary movement in early youth; in 1906, at the age of 22, I shot at a tsarist satrap, was seized by gendarmes and raped. Went through prisons and penal servitude. Before and after the October Revolution I advocated cooperation with the Bolsheviks and the sharing of power with them. What parted us was the Brest Peace, although at first I personally shared Lenin's position. On July 6, 1918, I led our party's uprising against the Bolsheviks. I was arrested and given a year's suspended sentence and then amnestied. The period between 1921 and 1937 was a succession of arrests and exiles, although I had given up political activity and worked as a bookkeeper. I was last arrested in Ufa and accused of plotting to assassinate members of the Bashkir government. True, since that whole government several day s later was occupying adjoining cells in the same prison, the charge against me was changed to plotting the assassination of Voroshilov should he take it into his head to come to Ufa.

Observing how and with whom the prison cells were filled I understood that an anti-Soviet take-over had occurred. I refused to testify at the trial of Bukharin that our July uprising was the result of a compact with him. My fellow members of the Central Committee, Kamkov and Karelin, broke down and gave the required testimony in court. In 1941, a few hours before the Germans entered Orel, I was shot together with the Bolshevik Christian Rakovsky.

On October 24, 1917, I was in Petrograd, in the Smolny, where I helped the Revolutionary Military Committee in which our party was represented alongside the Bolsheviks.

Markov. Sergei Markov, lieutenant general, chief of staff of the Southwestern Front. Was arrested and taken to Bykhov. After the victory of the Jewish-masonic plot in Petrograd, I went to the Don where I commanded the 1st Officers' Regiment and later a division of the Volunteer Army. Was killed in 1918. I fully endorse everything stated here by General Kornilov.

Kerensky. I, Alexander Kerensky, wish to speak to you from the height of eighty-nine years. Alas! I observed that birthday in complete isolation. In 1970 none of those who were party to the October excesses, with the exception of myself in New York and Molotov in Moscow, were still alive.

I outlived Lenin by half a century and I have seen with my own eyes what Russia has reaped from the burial he organized of the February Revolution, the burial of the February democracy which I personified in the eyes of the people. Yes, yes, I was the personification of the Russian people's hopes and aspirations associated with democracy. If you wish, the

February Revolution won only because I was in Petrograd and Lenin was not, and it lost.... (Turns to Kornilov.) Lost because Kornilov - that puppet in the hands of irresponsible industrialists, that mediocre army general I had raised so high - imagined himself the savior of Russia. It was he who committed the crime of breaking up the united front of the army and the government against Bolshevism.... I say this to you bitterly and sincerely.

Kornilov (interrupting him). Just as sincerely as you were in September 1917. (Reads from old newspaper.) "I never doubted Kornilov's love for the Homeland. It was not ill will but his lack of knowledge and utter political inexperience that was the cause of his actions fraught with no little damage to the state. He must be executed, of course, but when that happens I shall go to his grave with flowers and bend my knee in tribute to a Russian patriot."

Struve. What can you expect of a senile 90-year-old? He knows next to nothing and what he does know is all confused.

Sverdlov. On the conscience of that democrat....

Kerensky (angrily). Who are you to talk about democracy! You began by disbanding the Constituent Assembly and how did you end? In 1970 you drove Alexander Tvardovsky out of the Novy Mir magazine! Another instance of your democracy?

Sverdlov. I don't understand. What has that to do with it?

Kerensky. This: literally to my last breath I closely followed the life of you people and I know everything. It is futile to count on my ignorance! I kept track of everything. I am not General Kornilov who knew nothing of what was in the papers except what his orderly told him, and that not every day. In the Library of Congress I read and analyzed everything, including the notes by Struve's friends who explained why that gentleman foamed at the mouth whenever Lenin's name was mentioned. Renegades always hate and fear their past.

Struve. You always were a buffoon and still are.

Kerensky. On October 24, 1917, I, Minister-President and Supreme Commander-in-Chief, was as usual at my post in the Winter Palace, in what used to be Alexander III's study.

Trotsky. Lev Bronstein, party pseudonym Trotsky, the son of what most likely was the only Jewish landholder in Russia. In 1918, my father, who had lost his whole fortune, visited me in the Kremlin. To get there he had to walk 200 kilometres from Kherson to Odessa. All that he thought of me he put into a single sentence: "Fathers labour and labour to earn something for their old age, and then their children go and make a revolution." I joined the revolutionary movement in 1896, at the age of 17. Took part in the Second Congress of the Party, sided with the Mensheviks, then for 15 years engaged in polemics with Lenin. I was one of the leaders of the first Russian revolution in 1905, chairman of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies, was arrested, tried, sentenced to life exile in Siberia, escaped and went abroad. Returned in 1917, after the February Revolution, thought I would have to learn from the Revolution, but found that there clearly were too few teachers and so I had to teach the Revolution myself. In August I joined the Bolshevik Party, and at the Sixth Congress was elected member of the Central Committee. In the autumn I again became chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. After the October Revolution I was People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, People's Commissar of the Army, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic. Differed sharply with Lenin on fundamental questions of theory and policy, which was subsequently summed up by him as my "non-Bolshevism." I also had deep-seated differences with Stalin and the Party which later led to my being exiled from the country. My activities abroad aimed at setting up a Fourth International to counter the Third International is not an invention. All this happened, as did many other things on that plane. I am a soldier of the World Revolution and have no hesitation in leaving myself to the judgement of posterity.

The only thing that is not true and never could have been and which I reject with contempt is the charge of espionage and contact with special services. There were no such contacts except perhaps for one. (After a pause.) On August 20, 1940, I was mortally wounded by a blow on the back of my head with an ice-pick dealt by one Jackson, the name used by the Spaniard Ramon Mercader.... A satanic act of vengeance.

Stalin. Retribution is not vengeance, retribution is always just. We Bolsheviks have always adhered to this moral principle. As for our Spanish comrade Ramon Mercader, his role is simple and understandable: he merely carried out the sentence passed by a proletarian court.

Trotsky. You killed me without even the semblance of a trial, Stalin!

Stalin. We do not propose to tie our hands by formal considerations, by bourgeois moral standards when we are dealing with an unprincipled band of spies and murderers who have long since ceased to be a political trend in the working class. (To the audience.) I need not introduce myself. The milestones of my life have not been forgotten here. The principal milestones are there - I won a war without precedent in human history, I preserved Lenin's heritage, I built socialism. I would ask you to bear this in mind.

Kerensky. Mr Generalissimo, on November 7, 1918, at the first anniversary of the October excesses, you wrote in the newspaper Pravda that "the entire work involved in the practical organization of the uprising was conducted under the direct leadership of Comrade Trotsky to whom the Party is primarily and chiefly indebted." In 1924 you maintained that Trotsky had played no particular role in the October uprising in general, nor could he have. And in 1938, in "The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). Short Course" you presented yourself as virtually the leader of the uprising. Where is the truth, Mr Generalissimo?

Stalin. The sooner the proletariat forgets about some services rendered it by this gentleman, the better.

Plekhanov. Georgi Plekhanov. My whole life to my last breath was dedicated to the Russian working class, to the idea of socialism. October 24.... This was the eve of the most tragic day in my life, the day Lenin led the workers in a reckless undertaking. For a man who had given his life to the spread of Marxism in Russia this was a shattering blow. I did not live more than a year after what happened. I was only 62.

Orjonikidze. Grigory Orjonikidze. Joined the Party in 1903. From 1926 alternate member and later full member of the Political Bureau. A personal friend of Stalin. In 1922, when the U.S.S.R. was being formed and I represented Moscow in Georgia, I foolishly lost my temper and struck a Party comrade. That was the notorious Georgian affair. Lenin moved my expulsion from the Party for two years to discourage anyone from having recourse to fisticuffs. Stalin saved me from that punishment. What troubles me today is the problem of a Bolshevik's resistance to falsehood: where is the point beyond which a Bolshevik must not go?

Lukomsky. Alexander Lukomsky, 1868-1939, lieutenant general, associate of General Kornilov, later an émigré. I fully share the sentiments General Kornilov has expressed here.

Dzerzhinsky. Felix Dzerzhinsky, a Pole, of the gentry, joined the revolutionary movement in 1892.

The Central Committee Plenum of July 20, 1926, was my last. The doctors had strictly forbidden me to speak at it. But Trotsky, Zinovyev and Kamenev were so obviously bent on putting an end to the New Economic Policy that it was out of the question to sit back in silence.... When I left the rostrum I was taken ill. And three hours later it was all over. I was 49.... I had no chance of living much longer in any case. I was bound to die, if not in 1926, then in 1929, and if not in 1929 then later, with the others.... Why? Because I could never have borne any intriguing against Lenin. One of my most painful memories is that of the last talk I had with Lenin on December 12, 1922, when I clumsily tried to shield Orjonikidze and Stalin, and Lenin looked at me so sadly, seeing through it all. It was precisely after that talk that his illness took a turn for the worse and he never returned to the Council of People's Commissars. That still weighs heavily on my heart.

Zinovyev. Grigory Zinovyev.

Kamenev. Lev Kamenev.

Zinovyev. The October episode was not the only thing in our lives. There are also things which today we have no cause to regret... and, true, some we are deeply ashamed of.

Kamenev. We are both ashamed and pained to think that we, associates of Lenin - by our false testimony about ties with the Gestapo, involvement in the assassination of Kirov, a desire to restore capitalism - killed not only ourselves....

Zinovyev. Of course, before our arrest we did have a chance to escape from all this, but.... In the evening of December 1, after Kirov was assassinated, meetings and rallies sprang up spontaneously all over the country. As a member of the board of Centrosoyuz I was to deliver a speech to the collective, but I could not speak, the words stuck in my throat. I was shattered both because I knew Kirov well and because I had no illusions about what was in store for us....

Kamenev. But to do the only possible thing, to take the only right decision... as Tomsky, Orjonikidze and Gamarnik did later... for that, we did not have the strength.

Zinovyev. If we had done it we would have signed our own death warrant in the eyes of the people.

Kamenev. Yes, most likely. But we would not have disgraced ourselves.... On October 24 I was in the Smolny, taking an active part in the events of the day. The mistake connected with our public objection to the uprising, had been rectified.

Zinovyev. On that day I was in hiding, writing articles for Pravda. In the issue of October 25 two of my articles, the editorial and another one, were published.

Martov. I am that same Menshevik Yuli Martov whose name was anathema in Soviet Russia. Once a close friend of Lenin, one of the few with whom he was on intimate terms. Yes...October 24.... The day before it happened.... Yes, of course I was in Petrograd and I did everything possible to prevent it from happening and if it did, then to channel it onto altogether different lines.

Denikin. Anton Denikin, lieutenant general. Yes, yes, that same Denikin.... In 1942 when Hitler stood at the gates of Stalingrad I rejected with contempt the proposal that I move to Germany. Krasnov went to the Germans, but I refused, because to the end of my days, to my death in 1947 in the United States never ceased to be a Russian patriot.

Stalin. I believe the Soviet people remember not the Denikin who boasts about his refusal to fight against his homeland, but Denikin the hangman, who drenched Russia with the blood of Russian workers and Russian peasants.

Denikin. As distinct from you, I was at war with them. I fought them. On October 24 I was in Bykhov prison together with General Kornilov, playing billiards, I believe.

Dan. Fyodor Dan, Menshevik, physician. Until 1922 I was a deputy of the Moscow City Soviet, after which I was sent into foreign exile, where I lived until Russia's victory in the second world war. Like Milyukov, I hailed Stalin, I realized that Bolshevism, despite its glaring shortcomings, had become a powerful factor in the realization of the socialist ideal. On October 24, together with Martov, I did everything in my power to prevent October 24 from going down in history. Fortunately, I failed.

Krupskaya. Nadezhda Krupskaya, worked in the Party in the sphere of education. Ulyanov's wife. On October 24 I was in the Vyborg District Committee where Fofanova brought notes from Lenin which I sent on to the Smolny.

Bukharin. Nikolai Bukharin, born 1888 in Moscow, in a family of teachers. Joinend the revolutionary movement at the age of 17. At the Sixth Congress was elected to the Central Committee, of which I remained a member until my arrest in 1937. Of the different stages of my political life I consider most important the period of the Brest Peace, when I committed my biggest political blunder. But I blame myself most both as a Bolshevik and a human being for having failed to prevent that "great change," that "revolution from above," as it has been called, which took place in our country in 1929.

Stalin. That is my formula. I do not intend to deny authorship.

Fofanova. Margarita Fofanova, in whose flat was Lenin's last clandestine living quarters. I saw how he suffered at the time when the fate of the cause he had devoted his life to was being decided elsewhere while he was obliged to sit here in this flat and wait for news. I know that some historians do not like me. I tell it as it was, but they correct me because they know how it ought to have been.

Rahja. Eino Rahja, a Finn, Bolshevik.In 1917, on instructions from the Party,I acted as Lenin's bodyguard. At the end of September 1917 I brought Lenin from Vyborg to Petrograd. Stalin pounced on me: how dared I do so without the permission of the Central Committee? And on the evening of October 24, again without the permission of the CC, I escorted Lenin to the Smolny. I had no other "transgressions" against the Party.

Lenin. Ulyanov-Lenin. It is far more interesting to make a revolution than to talk or write about it. So let us get down to the matter in hand.

A raised platform with a section of Fofanova's apartment is spotlighted. Lenin quickly mounts the platform, followed by Krupskaya, Fofanova and Rahja.

Lenin (examining the props). Very much as it was. (Pointing to flowers.) But that was not there. After all, where could you find such flowers in Petrograd in late autumn? The stage designers must have taken a trip to the museum.

Krupskaya. Yes, that corner was piled high with newspapers. I was always nagging you about that....

Lenin. ...Called me an untidy creature.

Fofanova. Vladimir Ilyich, the children are being enrolled in the Young Pioneers' organization there.

Lenin. Children stand least of all in need of Potemkin villages.... (To the propmen surrounding the platform.) Not a white tablecloth, just an ordinary oilcloth.... (The tablecloth is replaced by an oilcloth.) That's right. Now we are ready.

The spotlight picks out another platform with a section of Alexander III's study in the Winter Palace. Kerensky walks up into the study.

Kerensky (to the propmen). I had an inkstand belonging to Nicholas II on my desk. Here in the corner was the St. Andrew flag. But no, in October I was no longer Minister of the Navy.... (To the propmen.) There should be something revolutionary here. Say, for instance... for instance.... Lenin's office in the Kremlin was like that of a run-of-the-mill director of a second--rate bank.... I was never there but I know it for sure.....We never were introduced to each other, although our paths crossed on more than one occasion....We were born on the same day, April 22; true, I was born a few years later.... Our fathers in Simbirsk both worked in the field of public education. I was six years old when Sasha Ulyanov was executed.... My father took to his bed from the shock. I was to remember that day all my life. As a matter of fact, it was that execution that caused me to choose the path of Revolution. Later, my father helped the Ulyanovs more than once to cope with the difficult circumstances in which Sasha's execution placed them. Vladimir was awarded a medal.... And given a recommendation to the university. Unlike myself, my father had a very high opinion of him. I've got it! I've got it! We must have a red ribbon! A red ribbon! (A red ribbon is brought and pinned on to Kerensky's tunic, while dressers proceed vigorously to brush off specks of dust invisible to all but themselves.) Don't do that! Stop! My tunic will lose the democratic touch. Now that's right. That's right.

Spotlight on a raised platform reveals a section of the room in the Smolny where the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party used to meet: tables, hard chairs, a few armchairs. The Bolsheviks mount the platform. At first there is an element of constraint in their manner towards one another.

Dzerzhinsky. Yes.... This is where it began....

Trotsky (to propmen). There was a map of the city on the table. Smilga had sent it.

Bukharin. Now, where did we all sit? I'm afraid I don't remember....

Sverdlov. What does that matter?

Stalin. It matters a great deal. I sat here, next to Lenin.

Bukharin. Nonsense, Koba. You never sat there, you were always smoking and so you hung about by the window or in a corner.

Stalin. No, I sat here next to Lenin. You cannot accuse me of forgetfulness, I always remember everything.

Sverdlov. Besides, Lenin, like Zinovyev, was never here before October 25, and could not have been - they were both working in the underground, and afterwards we moved over to Lenin's office.

Bukharin (to Stalin). Very well, let that be your place. But you must admit that you were always by the window or in the corner.

Stalin (obstinately). I was always beside Lenin.

Trotsky. That is what it says in the "Short Course". We've all read that.

Sverdlov. We had no disagreements like this at that time. Calm down. (With a final look at the set.) We are ready.

Spotlight on raised platform reveals a section of the Bykhov prison: a classroom with a blackboard, a billard table in the middle, and several armchairs. The generals mount the platform, examine the seats.

Denikin. What a time that was! Some are no more, others are far away....

Lukomsky. A gifted chap, that stage designer. He's got it exactly.

Markov (to the propmen). A bottle of cognac, but only Shustov's....

Kornilov. Now everything's perfect. We too are ready.

Fofanova's apartment. 12:10 a.m., October 24, 1917

Fofanova has just returned. On the chair there is a bag with groceries and a hastily thrown coat. Lenin is at the table, looking over documents delivered to him. Fofanova pours tea.

Fofanova. I was terribly worried about leaving you here alone.

Lenin. I've been waiting patiently. What's happening outside?

Fofanova. It's quiet. (Offers him a cup of tea.)

Lenin. Thank you. Let's go over the entire route to the Smolny mentally.

Fofanova. Why?

Lenin. Just in case. I leave your entranceway and turn....

Fofanova. You cannot go anywhere from the entranceway without permission from the Central Committee. And when you get permission, you won't walk alone, you'll be taken there.

Lenin. Of course. But couldn't there be all kinds of unforeseen circumstances? Why not prepare in advance?

Fofanova. You won't try to go by yourself surely?

Lenin. By myself? Through the whole city, with someone waiting at every corner to pounce on me?

Fofanova. Well, all right.... You leave the entranceway....

Lenin. And walk along Serdobolskaya until Bolshoi Samsonievsky Avenue....

Fofanova. On the corner there is a shop, a grocery store....

Lenin. On the corner there is a shop, a grocery store.... Is that where you've been all evening?

Fofanova. I can't remember ever seeing such terrible queues. And what did I buy? Very little. (Dumps the contents of the bag onto the table.) A pack of sugar, a pack of salt, bread and all kinds of trifles. And I paid exactly four times more for everything than at the beginning of the summer. You should have heard what a row the people in the queue made.

Lenin. What did they say?

Fofanova. They were furious. Someone from Tver, where there is absolutely nothing, said you in Petrograd have it good. The tsar was overthrown because it was simply more than the people could stand. And it has got worse. What is happening, Vladimir Ilyich?

Lenin. I believe this is the most critical moment of our Revolution.

Fofanova. How many of these critical moments have there already been?

Lenin. There have been none like this one. Any revolution can be roughly visualized as consisting of three camps, three tendencies.... (He takes the pack of salt.) Here is one camp - going back to what was. Complete or not entirely complete, but nonetheless a return to the past. Counterrevolution. Basically - hatred towards the people. (He takes the pack of sugar.) The second camp - a repainted façade, the essence of the old system unchanged. Marking time, a dread of any decisive action. Basically - fear of the people. (He takes a loaf of bread.) And the third camp - only forward, only total demolition of the old system, reliance on revolutionary initiative, action by the masses themselves, faith in the people. (He gets up, walks around the table.) Yes, these three forces, these three tendencies. A half a year ago the Revolution proclaimed three slogans: peace, bread and freedom. What has been accomplished? Nothing. For freedom without peace and without bread is nothing but freedom to die of hunger or a bullet, while retaining the right to deliver speeches of all kinds - which is poor consolation for normal people. Thus, not a single objective of the February Revolution was attained, hence the nationwide collapse and crisis. They tell us that the entire nation can be united to carry out these tasks. Our compromisers feed on this self-deception, this illusion, but look - where is the basis here for national unity? How do you unite these three camps? How do you harness Kornilov, Kerensky and us to one cart? (Moves the salt and sugar together.) Here you could have a political bloc: these pull back, and these mark time, and for the Revolution to mark time is to take three steps backwards. (He draws back and looks at the packs of salt and sugar moved close together.) No, the generals today will not forgive Kerensky for turning away from them during the Kornilov rebellion.... (Moves the salt and sugar apart.) So we must break through this gap before they reach agreement with each other ignoring yesterday's differences. Now is the very moment when it is possible to seize power for the sake of peace, bread and freedom without any bloodshed, with the least amount of losses. This will no longer be possible tomorrow. (Smiling.) That is why I must be in the Smolny. So, I walk along Bolshoi Samsonievsky to First Murinsky Avenue. Is that right?

Fofanova. Right. You can get to Botkinskaya Street by tram.

Lenin. No, I won't risk it.... (Looks at the pack of salt.) I'll walk along Liteiny Avenue and turn onto Shpalernaya Street.... (Unable to contain himself, he picks up the salt.) The generals today, of course, are cursing the day they supported the February Revolution and are undoubtedly preparing for a second Kornilov revolt. And Kerensky? (He takes the pack of sugar.) There are signs of bloc between them, although the mechanism of unity is probably still lacking....

Fofanova. And what about Kerensky? What's happened to him? People don't want to hear about him now, everyone is sick and tired of him.

Lenin. A repainted façade is not revolution! A bureaucratic pretence of reform and not a single genuinely revolutionary step towards dismantling the old bureaucratic machine! You cannot arouse heroism and enthusiasm in the masses unless you break completely with the past, if you leave the entire old power machinery intact and reduce democracy to idle talk. A gigantic fossilized army of office-holders carrying out reforms that undermine their domination? A revolution carried out by those who hate it bitterly? Whom are you fooling, gentlemen? No attempt to give effect to revolutionary reforms through such an apparatus is the greatest illusion, the greatest self-deception and deception of the people. And Kerensky has proved this to us in full! No, he is not such a fool as to publicly preach the philosophy of marking time. Wait a bit, he says, the situation

will improve, there will be a more auspicious moment, why rush ahead, why irritate people, let's act thoughtfully, and so on. And meanwhile, under pressure from the right camp, he goes on making concessions, big and small, and the revolutionary fervour of the people slowly but surely wanes, evaporates. The rightists are not fools either, why should they plunge headlong into the fray now, when day after day they are getting what they want piecemeal. Here the revolution slowed down a bit, here even a little more, and here still more.... And our Balalaikin fools shout: "Hurray!" "Victory!" seeing it as victory if the rightists don't swallow them up at once.

Fofanova. So what is to be done, Vladimir Ilyich?

Lenin. Go to the Smolny. The question now is to either fold our arms, sit back and wait for the Revolution to be stifled, or go full steam ahead.

Fofanova. An uprising?

Lenin. Yes, an uprising. Hunger does not wait, economic ruin does not wait, the peasants who are burning manor houses and seizing land do not wait. War does not wait. The generals in Bykhov do not wait. Yet our Central Committee wants to wait. And that is why I must go. So, Shpalernaya....

Fofanova. Vladimir Ilyich, look at the clock....

Lenin (smiling). Damn it, I am never able to reach the Smolny, someone always interferes - now the generals, now Kerensky, now our people.... Good night, Margarita Vasilyevna, I'm going to do a little more thinking.

Bykhov. 12:17 a.m.

On the proscenium a part of the Bykhov prison and four generals. The others follow closely the "testimony" of the generals, prepared at any moment to intervene; they are all at their ease: they come and go freely, smoke, and so on; Kornilov and Markov take off their tunics and begin to play billiards. Lukomsky scans a newspaper, Denikin, with a wine glass in his hand, reflects aloud.

Denikin. They gave me a company. How did I, a young military intellectual, begin? I decided to prove that you don't need to take a stick to a soldier. The company performed poorly and was lazy, and I was removed. Sergeant Major Stsepura lined the company up on the parade ground, raised his fist and said clearly and distinctly: "Captain Denikin is no longer in command. Is that clear?"

Markov. Off two sides into the middle. It's all because of the abolition of serfdom.

Lukomsky. A belated abolition. Twenty years earlier - and we would have been Europe long ago.

Markov. Add to this all the mischief begun by the Decembrists and continued by Belinsky... Hertzen.... And diverse Mikhailovskys... Uspenskys... Shchedrins and Klyuchevskys. Who will measure their destructive contribution?

Kornilov. Third off the side into the corner. You can add Berdichev to that. For all we've gone through, it should be wiped off the face of the earth and a jungle left in its place.

Markov. Not a jungle - thistles.

Denikin. Today chaos is rife.... And the humans who are not part of it are floundering helplessly. I remember a railway car, crammed with men in grey greatcoats, and in the aisle, a man - tall, thin, in a ragged threadbare coat.... The unbearable heat, the torture of hours ot standing, and harassment from all sides. And suddenly a hysterical cry: "Damnation! I have always sworn by the Russian soldier, but now I would strangle him with my own hands if I could...! Strangely enough, they left him in peace....

Lukomsky. Nevertheless February opened for Russia....

Markov. Russia's road to Calvary began in February.... Eighth to me in the corner.

Lukomsky. Excuse me, Sergei Leonidovich, I absolutely cannot agree with you! Do we really have such a short memory? Have we really forgotten all the stupidity, the total incompetence, to say the least, of our beloved monarch and his regime? The catastrophic food situation, the catastrophic state of transportation, and at the factories - we both know that this is not an invention of the Socialists. Everyone knows about the incompetence in internal affairs, but who beside ourselves knows about the incompetence in military affairs which we have felt constantly. The death toll of the war - 8 million Russians to 4 million Germans - is that not an indictment of the whole regime? Two Russians to one German - any nitwit, excuse me, could fight like that. The Romanovs with the shadow of Rasputin were doomed, and February was a blessing for the country. It was not by chance that all of the thinking generals welcomed it with understanding. Remember Brusilov: "If one has to choose between Russia and the government, I prefer Russia." And Kornilov strongly supported the February Revolution.

Kornilov. Yes, I was a prisoner at first.

Lukomsky. It is not our fault that the liberals couldn't handle the ship and ran it aground.

Kornilov. I am still ashamed of having unluckily agreed, of having myself... personally... arrested Alexandra Fyodorovna.... She greeted me with dignity... neither tears nor exaltation.... "I hope, general, that you understand our position, you yourself were a captive...." Aren't we going too far, gentlemen, slinging mud at them?

Denikin (to Lukomsky). Let's sum up February, Alexander Sergeevich.... The army has been destroyed, industry has been destroyed, there is no desire to work, nothing but irresponsibility....

Markov. A country of conferences, rallies and speeches, and nothing to eat!

Lukomsky. There is no other country in the world today freer than ours.

Denikin. Russia has turned out to be unworthy of the freedom it has won.

Lukomsky. That is why we took to the field.

Markov. Yes, but we are here and Kerensky is in the Winter Palace.

Denikin (to Markov). No one can be insured against betrayal.

Markov. I warned you, I begged you not to believe in that scoundrel.

Denikin. Kerensky's agreement with us was explicit: we send a cavalry corps against Petrograd to break up the Soviets, and he....

Kornilov (ironically). He calls us traitors to the revolution. No, no, gentlemen, here we have ourselves to blame. We exposed ourselves, and this entire rabble - from the extreme left to the most moderate - joined forces. There is one problem before us: shall we continue or consider the matter closed?

Denikin. The country is on the verge of collapse. Who will forgive us if we give in? And will we forgive ourselves?

Lukomsky. Ideology doesn't interest me, only expediency. The dirty work of twisting Kerensky's neck we'll leave to the Bolsheviks.

Kornilov. That's right. Our boundless love for our dying Motherland commands us to remain at our post and to wrest the country from grasping hands. Headquarters should be told that in the event of a Bolshevik uprising the troops must not intervene. We shall not repeat our mistake. I do not like to joke. Let them now devour each other - the extreme left, the moderates and vice versa.

Kerensky (shouting). There it is! You all heard it! Stop the clock! That is what I have always said. Now they have come out with it! I am the tragic victim of the struggle against two extremisms - Lenin's and Kornilov's. (Indicating the generals.) It is they, they who gave orders not to help me when the Bolshevik attack begins!

Struve. You idiot! How could you have declared Kornilov a traitor and by doing so completely spoiled everything?

Kerensky. When they raised their hand against me, they raised their hand against democracy in Russia!

Denikin. Admit at least here that you have always thought not about Russia but about yourself. If you had been thrown out of the Winter Palace and Kornilov had been there, our Russia would have been saved. But you ran to the Bolsheviks for help,

armed the workers, threw the country to the left... you tightened the noose around your neck with your own hands and here... here you shamelessly lie, defending yourself.

Kerensky. This is unheard of! Excuse me, I can't go on.... I feel terrible. (Quiets down.)

Bukharin. As the classic said, "the battering being mutual, the case is dropped." Let the generals continue.

Lukomsky. For us this Bolshevization, which toppled Kerensky, presents no danger. Their triumph will only highten further breakdown and anarchy. We will ask you for three weeks, not more, to liquidate the Bolsheviks.

Kornilov. An organized system of military dictatorship is needed to guarantee the return of the rivers to their courses. I don't like to joke.... And if, unfortunately, half of Russia should be burnt down and three quarters of it drenched with blood... it is not we who made the choice. Have a detailed disposition ready by morning. Let us drink, gentlemen! (All rise.) To Sergeant Major Stsepura!

Markov. By God... how we're going to string them up!

Kerensky (to the generals). Gentlemen, don't you think your three weeks is dragging it out rather too long?

The Winter Palace. 6:30 a.m.

Colonel Polkovnikov enters Kerensky's study.

Polkovnikov. Colonel Polkovnikov, head of the Petrograd military district reporting.

Kerensky. Good morning, Georgi Petrovich.

Polkovnikov. The night has been quiet. No food delivery, supplies are down to less than two thirds of normal.

Kerensky. We'll get to that later. What about the Bolsheviks?

Polkovnikov. Unless we go by the rumors, we are in full command of the situation.

Kerensky. The regiments' refusal to leave Petrograd for the front - is that a rumor?

Polkovnikov. There is an order from the Bolshevik Revolutionary Military Committee not to consider our orders valid without their sanction.

Kerensky. What? And you are silent about this? Reporting to me God knows what....

Polkovnikov. I have entered into negotiations with the Revolutionary Military Committee on annulling this ridiculous order. The very fact that the Bolsheviks agreed to negotiate is a sign of their weakness.

Kerensky. But this is a rebellion... a revolt... a challenge, to which I am obliged to answer. (Walks around the study, thinking aloud.) I have made too many concessions.... Yes, I may be reproached for weakness and extraordinary patience, but no one will say that I resorted to harsh measures before the very existence of the state was threatened.... Yes, yes.... I regret that I didn't die five months ago. I would have died with the great dream of being able to govern our own state without whip and stick. Is it possible that Milyukov is right, and a free Russian state is a state of rebellious slaves? I have often been told that I believe too much and dream a lot. They say we are not a power, but a mess.... Very well.... I shall try to believe - to believe in man, in his soul, in his conscience, in his intellect. Let the heart turn to stone, let all the flowers and daydreams about a free man wither - those flowers and dreams they scoff at and trample underfoot. Then I will trample them! This won't be. God, how difficult it is for me now!

Polkovnikov. Why, Alexander Fyodorovich?

Kerensky. Because I know the power of human ignorance - not only of our lower classes, but of all of Russian society: they don't need freedom, they need a fist! They need a fist and not freedom! There can be no conciliation with the Bolsheviks, further postponement of the battle is dangerous, the Bolsheviks must be forced with an iron hand to submit.... Of course, if we did not reject the methods of the tsarist government, we would have been obliged to provoke the Bolsheviks to take armed action....

Polkovnikov. They wouldn't have taken action. They are waiting for tomorrow's Congress of Soviets. The congress will adopt the decision on the transfer of power to them, and then they will go into battle....

Kerensky. I pray to God that they take action sooner, but, alas, this can't be hoped for. So, let them wait.... But we will wait no longer.... We must forestall them, we must strike first and impel them to action. I order the closure of the Bolshevik newspapers for incitement to rebellion against the Provisional Government. And for the sake of balance, the two ultra-right papers - Novaya Rus and Zhivoye Slovo - shall be closed as well. Lenin - I feel sure he is here in Petrograd - must be arrested at once and turned over to Alexandrov, investigator for exceptionally important cases. A detailed plan for the seizure of the Smolny must be ready by evening. The troops of the Northern Front, who are due to enter Petrograd any minute, will be at your disposal. As for the Congress of Soviets.... To prevent it from convening even your forces should be sufficient. Those are my orders! (Polkovnikov leaves.) The die is cast, gentlemen!

The Smolny. 8:15 a.m.

Sverdlov, Kamenev and Stalin wait for Trotsky to finish his telephone conversation.

Trotsky. A confrontation is inevitable, and it will take place owing to the order to send the garrison to the front. Last night was critical - none of us slept.

Dzerzhinsky hurries in.

Dzerzhinsky. A half hour ago the cadets wrecked the printing plant. Rabochi Put was not issued!

Stalin. We know.

Trotsky. I have all this in my head and in hands. We will inform Vladimir Ilyich without fail. Good-bye. (Hangs up.)

Dzerzhinsky (anxiously). I assure you the raid on the printing plant is the beginning! We have to do more than just reply! We must take the opportunity and arrest the government immediately - our armoured cars are there at the Winter Palace - and carry the offensive further.

Trotsky. Under no circumstances! The arrest of the Provisional Government is not an immediate task confronting us today and cannot be. To use our armoured cars for this purpose would be a mistake, but to recapture the printing plant from the cadets and issue the paper is another matter.... That is exactly what I will now propose to the Central Committee; I have already issued all the preliminary orders.

Kamenev. To act prematurely is one of the most typical mistakes of a revolutionary party.

Dzerzhinsky. Are you again suggesting that we trail behind? I am sick of such suggestions. If we sit back and wait the workers will lose faith in us and go ahead themselves.

Stalin. Calm down, Felix, the Central Committee will meet and decide.

Trotsky (to Dzerzhinsky). It is so simple: it all depends on the Congress, on the firm stand it will take.

Dzerzhinsky. Are you sure of that? I am not!

Trotsky. This is where we should direct our efforts. Tomorrow the congress will proclaim the transition of power to us....

Dzerzhinsky. And if it doesn't? If it wavers? So far we have a total of 300 delegates out of 670....

Trotsky (with conviction). The majority will vote with us. Kerensky, of course, will not submit to this decision, and then his removal will be a police, and not a political, problem. By the simple tactical step of seizing power through the Congress of Soviets we will solve a world-historical problem without spilling any blood. Simply and neatly.

Stalin. Problems that can be solved by a simple show of hands - why bring them out into the street?

Dzerzhinsky. That means that everything we are now doing....

Trotsky. This is defence, Felix, defence and nothing more. But that does not mean that all our forces must not be ready and mobilized to the full. Active defence, if you wish.

(To be continued)

Mankind is one great family

Talk with vice-president of the Raja Yoga research centre

The light, snow-white clothes and sandals of the guest obviously contrasted with the cold Moscow weather. There was something intriguing in his calm, seemingly estranged look and measured plastic gestures. In the New Times office I had a talk with **Jagdish Chander Hassija,** chief spokesman of the Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University and vice-president of the Raja Yoga research centre.

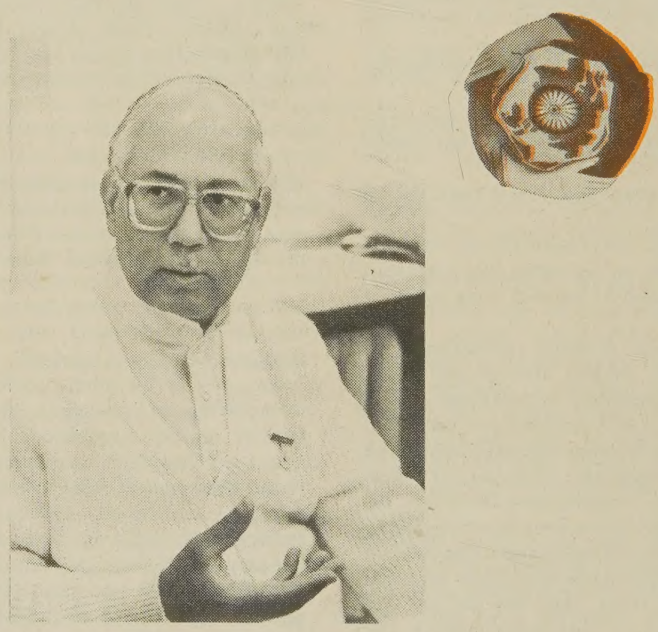
"Moscow is one of the cities on the itinerary of my missionary trip," Mr Hassija said in a leisurely manner. "The aim of the trip is to explain to the world public the essence of Global Cooperation for a Better World, a programme advanced by our university.

"The Brahma Kumaris University was established half a century ago in Karachi. In 1952 its headquarters moved to the Rajasthani mountais, India, where it is situated to this day. The first 300 members of the university were mostly girls and women. Why not men? The reason, I think, is that the eternal human feelings of kindness, charity and peace fostered at the university found a quicker response in the hearts of women.

"Today the Raja Yoga teaching, the main subject at the university, has 170,000 followers - people of various occupations, nationalities, political views, beliefs and social positions. There are not a few men among them. The university has about 1,700 centres in 48 countries, operating on voluntary donations. Seven years ago it became affiliated to the United Nations as a nongovernmental organization.

"We are not cultivating the worship of gurus, and we do not have physical exercises typical of Yoga," Mr Hassija went on. "The basis of the Raja Yoga teaching is meditation. It has no dogma or mysterious significance. It relieves high levels of stress and is an effective preventive means against psychic diseases.

"The main experience is gained by members of our university through meditation and the realization of a deep sense of peace. Our programme says: It would be wrong to think that the concept of a world without wars, poverty, overpopulation and pollution is a mere utopia or a chimera. People will create a new world only through their best thoughts about it, by winning victory over vicious actions."



Great as was my desire to enter into polemics with the guest, I wondered whether it was necessary because sometimes, dwelling on minor differences, we lose an opportunity to understand one another on the main points. Mr Hassija agreed with this view, observing philosophically:

"I don't drink this water (pointing to bottles of mineral water and lemonade on the table), but this doesn't mean that it is bad. One has to get used to this water, to feel its taste, and then perhaps one may like it. We are all brothers and sisters and should understand one another."

"But how to link this with the existence of two different social systems in the world?" I asked.

"Even the members of one family may have different characters, inclinations and habits," the guest retorted. "One should not lay stress on distinctions between people. It is much more important to concentrate on what unites us. Let us reconcile ourselves to the idea that we have differences on certain issues."

Mr Hassija has written over 200 books, booklets and monographs devoted not only to the Raja Yoga teaching but also to the problems of peace and war and environmental protection. He is chief editor of the magazine Purity, in which such words as harmony, compassion and kindness frequently appear. What significance do these notions acquire in the age of the scientific and technological revolution?

"Harmony and compassion are the sole way of solving all problems," Mr Hassija replied. "Environmental pollution is a consequence of the loss by man of the clarity of thinking, of a harmonious relationship with nature. We are worried over the fate of missiles but do not meditate on how to change the thinking of those who control them. The growth of hatred, envy and spite is provoking contamination of the environment. The fact that half the world's population lives below the poverty line can be attributed to a lower level of kindness. Man can achieve a great deal, but he does not allow his good feelings to blossom like a flower. Some call these feelings kindness, others, love, and still others, social justice.

"Our teaching says: a movement of your finger can influence the movement of stars. Our bad mood has an adverse effect on the people around us, plunging them into the same mood, and vice versa."

Continuing to talk about interconnection and interdependence in the world, Mr Hassija voiced his concern over the present position of young people in the world.

"A review of world history will show it was the young people who were used for the needs of war, turned into cannon fodder under the slogans of bravery and defence of the homeland. Please, understand me correctly. There are circumstances when a nation has to defend itself. One of the ways of uniting peoples is to declare a total war on inhumanity, injustice, poverty, diseases and hunger."

Interviewer KONSTANTIN ISAKOV

Gzhel

Archaeologists working in the Maslovo Boloto peat moor (the north-western tip of the Gzhel-Kudinovo clay deposit) found traces of primitive men who inhabited those parts in the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. — fragments of pottery decorated with simple ornaments. Curiously, it was there that the now famous folk craft emerged much later.

Gzhel was first mentioned in a testament made out by Grand Duke Ivan Danilovich Kalita in 1328 before he set off on a dangerous trip to Zolotaya Orda (the headquarters of the Tatar occupiers). Gzhel potters were Russia's first to fashion crockery out of white clay: this craft goes back to the 14th-15th centuries.

In the second half of the 18th century Gzhel became an established centre of artistic earthenware. Grebenshchikov, the pottery owner, initiated the production of majolica. Gzhel craftsmen's creations have always been renowned for their distinctive shapes and original ornamentation quite unlike those of Western European majolica.

The "Gzhel miracle" is worked by brush and flame. Some specimens are kilned for over 24 hours. Having cooled off, they assume the pearly whiteness of porcelain tinged with a touch of blue. This decorative pottery will grace any interior.

Works by Gzhel craftsmen

Photos by K. Kokoshkin

Thu An
Drying rice.

Ittetsu Morishita
Hibakusha. Nagasaki.

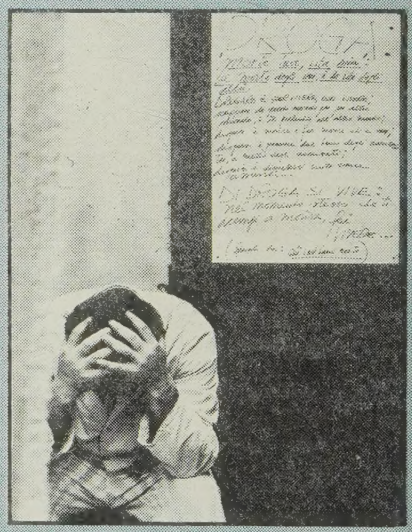
Yuri Rost
A child is looking.

The editors thank the Soviet and foreign artists and photographers who sent their works for the international contest Man and Mankind. The jury has awarded prizes and diplomas to **Thu AN (Vietnam), L.R. GROVER (India), Ittetsu MORISHITA (Japan), Alfred La PICCIRELLA (Italy), Yuri ROST (U.S.S.R.), and Dieter URBAN (G.D.R.).**

L.R. Grover
Mutual sympathy.

Dieter Urban
Joy of life.

Alfred La Piccirella
A drug addict.



INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

PLANET EARTH IS OUR COMMON HOME

The editors invite all professional and amateur photographers and artists to take part in the New Times 1988 contest **Planet Earth Is Our Common Home.** Your picture stories and sketches (in colour or black-and-white, but not less than 13×18 cm in format), paintings or drawings may cover everyday life, the hopes, concerns, joys and problems of people and must be accompanied by a brief explanatory text, and the full name and address of an entrant.

Please address entries to the editors of New Times, Pushkin Square, 103782, GSP, Moscow, U.S.S.R. Don't forget to mark your envelope "Contest."